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MEMORY

OF June 30 1804

WASHINGTON:

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COMPRISING

J Whaler Martin

A SKETCH OF HIS

LIFE and CHARACTER;

AND THE Cost 50 Cents

National Testimonials of Respect.

ALSO,

A COLLECTION OF

EULOGIES and ORATIONS.

WITH A

COPIOUS APPENDIX.

NEWPORT, R. I.
PRINTED BY OLIVER FARNSWORTH.
1800.

KPCE

TO THE PUBLIC.

TO render homage to that Character which forms the ſubject of the preſent Work, is the pride and ambition of every true American. Congreſs have decreed him the nobleſt honors. Communities and individuals vie with each other in teſtifying their reſpect and veneration for ſuch rare virtue and unrivalled worth. And the Editor has the pleaſure of announcing, that this Volume, which is intended as a Tribute of Reſpect to the Memory of the Father of our Country, will be found to contain a copious variety of matter, highly intereſting and valuable.

SHOULD this Compilation, which we now have the happineſs of offering to the Public, be favored with general approbation, it is the intention of the Editor to publiſh a Second Volume; in which, ſeveral Eulogies, Orations, &c. unavoidably omitted in this, and which are judged really meritorious— together with the invaluable POLITICAL LEGACIES of WASHINGTON, will appear.

Newport, July 4th, 1800.

☞ *Subſcription papers for the 2d Volume, will ſoon be forwarded to different parts of the United States.*

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CHARACTER
OF
WASHINGTON.

WRITTEN IN 1798.

BY AN *AMERICAN*.

DOES the proſtitute page of hiſtory glow with the enthuſiaſtic eulogia on the characters of tyrants, who have only revelled in a Court, or of conquerors, who have only ſlaughtered in the field? And ſhall even the impartial portraitiſt reſt in apathetic torpidity, and ſlumber in criminal ſilence, while our American *Fabius* lives, and aſtoniſhes the world with the plenitude of his virtue and his greatneſs? Are the characters of a *Sidney*, of a *Pitt*, and of a *Fox*, conſigned to immortality by the nervous eloquence of their zealous and partial countrymen, and ſhall not an humble tribute of juſtice be rendered to the man of the people, whoſe perſon is beloved by his fellow-citizens, whoſe name is revered by the Nations of the earth, and whoſe

ſituation is the envy of even the monarch himſelf, when ſeated ſuperb on his throne of empire.

WASHINGTON is equally majeſtic in mein, dignified in merit and exalted in fame. While the manly and auguſt firmneſs of his deportment and manners potently characterize the ſoldier and the hero, their graceful eaſe and elegance beſpeak the man of faſhion and conſummate politeneſs. His openneſs and unaffected affability ſeem to invite an acquaintance, by rendering acceſs eaſy, and intercourſe delightful.

THOUGH he dart not from his eye the vengeful fire, nor bear on his brow the haughty defiance of the inexorable *Achilles*, yet is his countenance marked with the calm intrepidity of the noble *Hector*, and the ſuperior ſtability of the youthful *Patroclus*.—But notwithſtanding his whole aſpect pronounces him the Hero formed to ruſh fearleſs, yet terrible, through the rude tempeſt of war, and to ride triumphant in the gilded car of conqueſt; yet do the mildneſs and benignity of his countenance declare him more ſupremely bleſt in the kin-

dred ſunſhine of public harmony and peace. That this is indeed the true diſpoſition of our Patriot and Hero, we learn not from his countenance alone, for the uniform tenor of his public conduct proclaims that his ſupreme delight is to cultivate with aſſiduity and care, the tender and precarious olive, rather than to ſtep ſuperb and terrible beneath the ſhadow of the laurels of glory.

THOUGH his features, when individually examined, be neither elegant, delicate nor fine, yet when viewed in conjuuction, and conſidered in their compoſite reſult, they certainly give birth to an unequivocal perception of elegant comlineſs, and make an impreſſion ſo permanent as never to be forgotten.

THOUGH the elegance of our Hero neigher electricates by the divine fire of *Demoſthenes*, nor captivates by the leſs flowing harmony of *Cicero*, yet does the ſtyle of his addreſs rival that of the Grecian in preciſion and force, and that of the illuſtrious Roman in elegance and dignity.

WHATEVER be the ſubject of his inveſtigation, he always deliberates with the

moſt profound attention, and by the wiſdom and rectitude of his deciſion, ſeldom fails to impreſs conviction and beget confidence. The evident utility and happy reſult of his deciſions on all matters relative to public policy, have ever furniſhed the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal teſtimony of their truth and juſtice.

In his wiſe and happy choice of confidants and friends, he has given to the world ſuch a ſpecimen of thorough knowledge of human nature as no public character ever exhibited before: For in no inſtance have his friends ever forſaken him; in no inſtance have his confidants ever betrayed him, either while a commander in the field, or a public officer in the cabinet.

In his inveſtigation of ſubjects relative either to the intereſt and policy of his country, or the complicated rights of nations in general, he does not appear to gain the ſummit of truth by the ſlow and laborious ſteps of argumentative arrangement and logical deduction; but after taking a general view of the point immediately in queſtion, ſuddenly bounds over every obſtacle and dif-

ficulty by the power and activity of an irre-ſiſtible genius.

To the foregoing qualifications of our Stateſman and Hero, we may add, that he is himſelf a model in point of morality, and a friendly patron of religion and piety. Neither the loud calls of wild diſſipation, nor the ſoft aſſuaſive accents of pleaſure have ever been able to ſeduce him from the paths of moral rectitude, and he is not aſhamed to mingle with his fellow-citizens, and devoutly join them in acts of public worſhip to the beneficent ſource of the univerſe.

In this amiable and auguſt perſonage, we diſcover a local concentration of thoſe truly invaluable and ſublime characteriſtics which are particularly deſigned to conſti-tute the aggregate worth and dignity of human nature; while on the other hand, he is happily exempt from thoſe weakneſſes and irregularities ſo deſtructive to the hap-neſs, and ſo humiliating to the pride of ſelf adoring man. Thus we behold in the Guardian of his country, the moſt conſum-mate valor, without precipitate raſhneſs—the utmoſt caution, without effeminate tim-

idity—the higheſt patience and fortitude, without either apathy or indolence—the moſt diſpaſſionate coolneſs, without liſtleſs inactivity—the moſt unalterable firmneſs and determined perſeverance, without blind and incorrigible obſtinacy—the moſt exquiſite judgment and acute penetration, without the ſupercilious pride of knowledge—and an unparalleled love of his fellow citizens, without an implicit ſubmiſſion to their eccentric whims and capricious irregularities.

To conclude, it would indeed appear that in the perſon of WASHINGTON, nature and fortune had co-operated with their utmoſt energy, to aſtoniſh the world with a character of goodneſs and conſummate greatneſs. As a man, he has ever been beloved by his fellow-citizens at large; as a General, he is an exquiſite model of bravery, tempered by prudence, and illumined by wiſdom; and as the Supreme Executive of the Union, he has diſplayed all that public virtue and merit, neceſſary to render him the pride of his friends, the boaſt of his country, and the admiration of the world.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

General George Washington,

BY J. MORSE, D. D.

THE death of this great man, has rendered an account of his life particularly desirable. To a nation whose feelings seem to be absorbed by this most afflicting event, whose attention is chiefly directed to the contemplation of the resplendent virtues of the deceased Father of his country, every circumstance of his life has become interesting.

I HAVE not the vanity to assume to be the Biographer of General WASHINGTON. This arduous, honorable, and useful task, is probably already assigned by proper authority, to a man competent to its execution, and who is already, or will,

be, in poſſeſſion of all the requiſite documents for ſo important a work. But having heretofore given to the public, in a work* deſigned for their uſe, a brief ſketch of his life, I hope they will not conſider it as preſumption in me, if, with a view to ſatisfy, in ſome degree, ſolicitous inquiries on the ſubject, and as a humble tribute to the memory of the *firſt of men*, I reviſe and enlarge this ſketch, and in an improved form, at this moment of general feeling, offer it to their peruſal.

THE late General WASHINGTON was born in the pariſh of Waſhington, Weſtmoreland county, in Virginia, February 22, 1732. He was the third ſon of Mr. AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, a planter or farmer of reſpectable talents, diſtinguiſhed reputation and large eſtate in Virginia. The anceſtors of this gentleman, about the year 1657, removed from Yorkſhire in England to Virginia, and ſettled in King George's county, where, at the commencement of our revolution, the General had three brothers living, viz. Samuel,

* The American Geography.

John and Charles, all gentlemen of conſiderable landed property, and a ſiſter, the wife of Col. *Fielding Lewis*.*

THE General was the firſt fruit of a ſecond marriage. His early education, conducted by a private tutor, under the direction of his father, was ſuch as favored the production of an athletic and vigorous body, and the formation of a correct and ſolid mind. Inhaling a pure mountain air, accuſtomed to the healthful occupations of rural life, and to the manly toils of the chaſe, his limbs expanded to an unuſual, robuſt, but well proportioned and graceful ſize, adapted to endure the fatigues of his future life, and to ſuſtain the active energies of his noble ſoul.

BY his tutor he was taught the rudiments of the Latin language, Engliſh grammar, and the elements of the mathematicks. At the age of ten years, his father died, and the charge of a numerous family devolved on his eldeſt brother, Mr. *Lawrence*

* SEE a letter, written at an early period of the American Revolution, by *John Bell*, Eſq. of Maryland, to a friend in Europe, and publiſhed in the Maſſachuſetts Magazine, for March 1791.

Waſhington. This brother, a young gentleman of moſt promiſing talents, had a Captain's command in the colonial troops, employed againſt Carthagena, under Admiral *Vernon.* On his return from this expedition, he married the daughter of the Hon. *William Fairfax*, of Belvoir, and ſettled on his patrimonial eſtate, which he called Mount Vernon, in honor of his Admiral, from whom he had received many civilities. He was afterwards made Adjutant General of the militia of Virginia, but did not long ſurvive his appointment. He left one daughter, who dying young, and his ſecond brother alſo having deceaſed without iſſue, the General ſucceeded to the family ſeat, and to a very conſiderable landed eſtate.

It is a circumſtance which ought not to be here omitted, that, at the age of fifteen, he was entered a midſhipman on board a Britiſh ſhip of war ſtationed on the coaſt of Virginia, and his baggage prepared for embarkation; but his mother, then a widow, expreſſing her reluctance at his engaging in that profeſſion, the plan was abandoned.

THE office of adjutant general, made vacant by the death of his brother, in conſequence of the extenſive limits of the province, was now divided into three diſtricts; and the future Hero of America, before he had completed his twentieth year, began his military ſervice by a principal appointment in that department, with the rank of Major.

WHEN he was little more than twenty years of age, an event occurred which called forth his great talents into public notice and exerciſe. In 1753, the French from Canada, aided by the Indians, whom they engaged for the purpoſe, made inroads and encroachments upon the weſtern frontiers, along the Allegany and Ohio rivers. Orders were received from England, by the Governor* and Council of Virginia, to repel by force theſe encroachments. It was however thought a prudent preliminary ſtep, to make an effort to prevent open hoſtilities, by friendly and ſpirited remonſtrances to the French, and conciliatory overtures to the Indians. Major WASH-

* LIEUT. Governor *Dinwiddie* at this time adminiſtered the government.

INGTON was deputed to undertake this important and perilous embaſſy. Accordingly he was diſpatched by the Governor, with a letter to the Commander in Chief of the French on the Ohio, complaining of the infractions of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns ; and with inſtructions and plenary powers to treat with the Six Nations and other tribes of Weſtern Indians, and to ſecure their attachment to England. He commenced his journey late in October, with about fifteen attendants, and endured the fatigues, and performed the duties of his miſſion, with ſingular fortitude, induſtry, intelligence and addreſs. When he returned with Monſieur de St. Piere's anſwer, and gave information of his ſucceſs in his negociations with the Indians, he received the approbation and thanks of his country. His journal* and report to Governor *Dinwiddie*, which were publiſhed at the time, early announced to the world, that ſtrength and correctneſs of mind, eaſe and manlineſs of ſtyle, and that

* THIS *Journal* was publiſhed in the Maſſachuſetts Magazine for June and July 1789, from a copy ſent to the writer of this, from his correſpondent in Virginia.

judgment, method, and accuracy in doing buſineſs, which have ſince characteriſed him in conducting more arduous affairs. His journal for many years after, proved of eſſential ſervice to travellers into that weſtern wilderneſs.

NOTWITHSTANDING the remonſtrances made by the government of Virginia to the French commander on the Ohio, through Major WASHINGTON, hoſtile operations in that quarter, were ſtill continued, as part of a meditated plan of general attack upon the then Britiſh colonies.† In this ſtate of things, orders were received from the mother country, for the colonies to unite, and prepare to defend themſelves. The Aſſembly of Virginia took the lead; and early in the year 1754, voted a ſum of money for the public ſervice, and agreed to raiſe a regiment of 400 men for the defence of the frontiers of that colony. Mr. *Fry*, one of the profeſſors of the College of William and Mary, was appointed Colonel of this regiment, and Major WASHINGTON, then about twenty-three years of age, received the commiſſion of Lieutenant-

† SEE Note (A) in the Appendix.

Colonel. Col. *Fry* died ſhortly after his appointment, and left his regiment and rank to the ſecond in command.

COL. WASHINGTON now was indefatigable in his efforts to form his regiment, to eſtabliſh magazines, and open roads ſo as to pre-occupy the advantageous poſt at the confluence of the Allegany and Monongahela rivers (now Pittſburg) which he had recommended for that purpoſe, in his report the preceding year. Impreſſed with the neceſſity of expedition in accompliſhing this important object, without waiting for a detachment of independent regulars, and ſome companies of provincials from the neighboring colonies, who were expected to join him, he commenced his march in the month of May.

ON his way, at a place called Red Stone, he met a ſtrong party of the French and Indians, which he engaged and routed after killing and capturing fifty of the enemy. Among the priſoners was the celebrated Monſ. de la Force, and two other officers, from whom Col. WASHINGTON received intelligence, that the French forces

on the Ohio conſiſted of upwards of 1000 regulars, and ſeveral hundred Indians, and that they had already erected a fort at the poſt he had intended to occupy, which they called Fort du Queſne. Upon this intelligence, he took his ſtation with his little army at a place called Great Meadows, for the convenience of forage and ſupplies, where he built a temporary ſtockade, to cover his ſtores, and named it fort *Neceſſity*. Here he waited the arrival of expected ſuccours from New-York and Pennſylvania, but was joined by Capt. McKay's regulars, only, which increaſed his force to about 400 effective men. He remained unmoleſted till July, when he received information from his ſcouts that a conſiderable party of the enemy was approaching to reconnoitre his poſt; he ſallied and defeated them; but in return was attacked by an army of French and Indians, computed to have been 1500 ſtrong, under the command of the *Sieur de Villiers*. The little garriſon made a gallant defence, of ſeveral hours, during which they killed nearly 200 of the enemy, and more than one third of their own number were either killed or wounded. The

French commander, discouraged by such bold opposition, proposed a parley, which terminated in an honorable capitulation, Col. WASHINGTON, at the head of his troops, quitted the fort with the honors of war, agreeable to the articles of capitulation, and carried with him his military stores, and baggage; but the French commander either unable or unwilling, did not restrain his Indian auxiliaries from plundering the provincials, and making a considerable slaughter of men, cattle and horses. After this disaster, the remains of the Virginia regiment returned to Alexandria to recruit.

THE British ambassador at the court of Versailles was directed to remonstrate to the French government against the breach of the articles of capitulation above mentioned; and this may be considered as the period when the French court began to unmask, and to discover that the conduct of its governors and officers in America, was in conformity to their orders. After this, warlike preparations on the frontiers were made by the French with redoubled activi-

ty, and were continued through the winter of 1754, and the ſpring of 1755.

DURING this period the government of Virginia raiſed an additional number of troops, who built fort Cumberland, and fort Loudon, and formed a camp at Wills Creek, a ſituation convenient for the annoyance of the enemy on the Ohio. In all theſe ſervices, and particularly in the erection of the forts, Col. WASHINGTON was actively and principally employed.

AT this time, May 1755, Gen. *Braddock* arrived at Alexandria, from England, with two veteran regiments from Ireland, to which were to be joined the independent and provincial corps in America, and at the head of this army he was to repel the invaders of the colonial frontiers. Upon a royal arrangement of rank, by which "no officer who did not *immediately* derive his commiſſion from the king, could command one who did," Col. WASHINGTON reſigned his commiſſion, and as a Volunteer, and extra Aid de Camp, joined General *Braddock*. The army marched directly for Fort du Queſne, by the route of Wills

Creek. No perſon was ſo well acquainted with this route as Col. WASHINGTON, and no other officer in the colony, at this time, ſuſtained ſo high and well eſtabliſhed a military reputation; and had his counſel been ſufficiently regarded, there is reaſon to believe the misfortunes which followed would have been prevented. In his route, Gen. *Braddock* unexpectedly, and of conſequence, unpreparedly, met a large body of the enemy. Without detailing minutely the particulars of the hard fought and bloody battle which enſued, and which terminated in the total defeat of *Braddock's* army, which conſiſted of 2000 regular Britiſh forces, and nearly 800 provincials. I ſhall only ſay, in the words of the reſpectable and correct writer,* to whom I am indebted far many of the facts contained in this ſketch, that, "it is allowed on all ſides, that the haughty behavior of Gen. *Braddock*, his high contempt of the provincial officers and ſoldiers, and his diſdainful obſtinacy in rejecting their advice, were the cauſes of this fatal diſaſter. With what reſolution and ſteadineſs the provincials, and

* JOHN BELL, Eſq.

their gallant commander (Col. WASHINGTON) behaved on this trying occaſion, and in covering the confuſed retreat of the army,† let every Britiſh officer and ſoldier confeſs, who were reſcued from ſlaughter on that calamitous day by their valor and conduct.

To this information it is proper to add, that Col. WASHINGTON was the only Officer, whoſe duty obliged him to be on horſeback during the battle, who was not either killed or wounded. Providence ſeemed to reſerve him to ſave from utter deſtruction the wreck of a defeated army. Having ſecured their paſſage over the ford of the Monongahela, and finding the enemy did not purſue their victory, Colonel WASHINGTON haſtened to concert meaſures for their further ſecurity, with Col. Dunbar who had remained ſome diſtance in the rear, with the ſecond diviſion of the army and the heavy baggage. To effect this, he travelled with two guides, all night, through a dreary wilderneſs, notwithſtand-

† See Capt. Orme's Letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, and alſo the other accounts of that day.

ing the fatigues of the preceding day, and the enfeebled ſtate of his health, having but imperfectly recovered from ſickneſs. So exhauſted was he in the morning, that he was obliged to be ſupported with cuſhions on his horſe. The public accounts of this affair, both in England and America, were not parſimonious of applauſe for the eſſential ſervice he rendered his country on ſo trying an occaſion.

Not long after this time, the regulation of rank, which had been ſo injurious to the Colonial officers was changed to their ſatisfaction, in conſequence of the diſcontent of the officers and the remonſtrance of Col. WASHINGTON; and the government of Virginia, impreſſed with a due ſenſe of his merits, gave him, in a new and extenſive commiſſion, the command of all the troops raiſed, and to be raiſed in that colony. This commiſſion he held, with ſignal credit to himſelf, and advantage to his country, till 1759, when, tranquillity being reſtored on the frontiers of the middle colonies, and his conſtitution having become extremely enfeebled and endangered by an inveterate pulmonary complaint,

he reſigned his military appointment. Impartial hiſtorians will do juſtice to his character, in detailing the judicious plans he ſuggeſted, and the ſyſtem he purſued for defending the frontiers, and his perſonal hazards, bravery, and achievements previouſly to the period of his reſignation. Nor are authentic documents wanting to ſhew the tender regret which the Virginia line expreſſed at parting with their commander, and the affectionate regard which He entertained for them.

FROM this period, till the year 1775, he cultivated the arts of peace. Soon after he reſigned his commiſſion in 1759, his health having been gradually re-eſtabliſhed, he married the preſent Mrs. *Waſhington*, then Mrs. *Martha Cuſtis*,* an amiable and beautiful young widow, "with whom he had a fortune of twenty thouſand pounds ſterling in her own right, beſides her dower in one of the principal eſtates in Virginia,"† and ſettled as a Planter and Farmer, at

* GENERAL and Mrs. *Waſhington* were both born in the ſame year.

† BELL'S Letter.

his favorite, delightful ſeat, the far famed Mount Vernon.‡

GENERAL WASHINGTON was the largeſt landholder, probably in the United States. Beſides the large eſtates which came into his poſſeſſion by his marriage, and by the death of Mrs. *Waſhington*'s only daughter (amounting in the whole to thirty thouſand pounds ſterling) he owned large tracts of excellent land in different parts of the ſtate, which, in early life, while he was Surveyor, he had taken up for himſelf, or purchaſed of officers who had lands allotted them for their ſervices. He alſo made large additions to his eſtate at Mount Vernon, which, in 1787, conſiſted of about nine thouſand acres, under his own cultivation. His income from his eſtates was reckoned, in 1776, to amount at leaſt to *four thouſand pounds ſterling a year ;* and it was then ſuppoſed they would have ſold for more than *one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds** of the ſame money, equal to upwards of 666,000 dollars. There can be no doubt, that un-

‡ See Note (B) in the Appendix.

* SEE *Bell's* Letter.

der his ſuperintendence and admirable management, his property has ſince much increaſed.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was not leſs diſtinguiſhed as a *Farmer*, than as a *Warrior* and a *Stateſman*. He undertook every thing on a great ſcale, proportioned to his great and comprehenſive mind ; and his exact and exemplary method in tranſacting all his buſineſs, enabled him to accompliſh more, and in a more perfect and advantageous manner, than perhaps any other man of the age. He has raiſed ſeven thouſand buſhels of wheat, and ten thouſand of Indian corn in one year, on his eſtate at Mount Vernon. In a ſucceeding year he raiſed two hundred lambs, ſowed twenty-ſeven buſhels of flaxſeed, and plantmore than ſeven hundred buſhels of potatoes. At the ſame time he had manufactured under his eye, by his domeſtics, linen and woolen cloth ſufficient for his houſehold, which conſiſted of nearly a thouſand ſouls. His land, deſigned for cultivation, he had encloſed in lots of equal dimenſions, and crops aſſigned to each for many years. On Saturday in the afternoon, every week,

he was accuſtomed to receive reports from all his overſeers, (and theſe reports, I have been informed, were received and attended to, conſtantly, during the periods of his Command of our Armies, and his Preſidency of the United States) which reports were correctly regiſtered in books kept for the purpoſe; ſo that, at the end of the year, he was able accurately to aſcertain the quantity of labor beſtowed on each of the ſeveral lots, and the amount of the produce. Order and economy were eſtabliſhed in all the departments within and without doors.

AGRICULTURE was his favorite employment, and he purſued it in a manner worthy of himſelf. One great object which he ever kept in view, was to introduce or augment the culture of thoſe articles which he conceived would be the moſt beneficial in their conſequences to his country. Upon this principle, he early gave up planting tobacco, and went altogether into the farming buſineſs. To acquire and communicate practical knowledge, he correſponded with the celebrated Mr. Arthur Young of England, and with many agricultural gentlemen in this country. As improvement

was known to be his object, he was in the habit of receiving rare seeds, and results of new projects from every quarter. He likewise made copious notes, relative to his own experiments, the state of the seasons, the nature of soils, of which he was an excellent judge, and the effects of different kinds of manure, and such other topics, as tended to the improvement of agriculture.

While he was thus usefully occupied as a Farmer, and giving to all around him, and to posterity, a noble example of industry, economy, and good management, he was, at the same time, assiduous in serving the State. From the time he left the army, in 1759, until the year 1774, he was constantly a Member of Assembly; he was also a Magistrate of the county in which he lived, and a Judge of the Court. He was elected a Delegate to the first Congress in 1774, and to that which assembled the year following.

It was while he was a Member of this Assembly of the wisest men in America, that he was, on the 15th of June 1775, by their unanimous vote, appointed Com-

mander in Chief of all the forces raiſed, or to be raiſed for the defence of the then colonies. He accepted his appointment; with what diffidence and diſintereſtedneſs, his reply to the Preſident of Congreſs, when his appointment was announced to him, witneſſes.* "It was a fortunate circumſtance, attending his election, that it was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no envy. That ſame general impulſe on the public mind, which led the Coloniſts to agree in many other particulars, pointed to him as the moſt proper perſon for preſiding over the military arrangements of America. Not only Congreſs, but the inhabitants in the eaſt and weſt, in the north and the ſouth, as well before as at the time of embodying a Continental Army, were in a great degree unanimous in his favor."† "The very high eſtimation he ſtood in for integrity and honor, his engaging in the cauſe of his country from ſentiment and a conviction of her wrongs; his moderation in politics, his extenſive property, and his approved

* See Note (C) in the Appendix.

† Ramsay's Hiſt. Revol. Vol. I. p. 192.

abilities as a Military Commander, were motives which obliged the choice of America to fall upon him."†

We have now arrived at a period in the life of this great man, ſince which, the events of it have been more conſpicuous and more generally intereſting; and it is the leſs neceſſary to particularize them in this place, becauſe they have been often detailed, and are familiar to almoſt every perſon. I will only obſerve, that General WASHINGTON arrived at the camp in Cambridge, and took the Supreme Command of the American army, July 2, 1776. "He was received with that heart felt exultation, which ſuperior merit alone can inſpire, after having, in his progreſs through the States, been honored with every mark of affection and eſteem which they conceived were due to the man, whom the whole continent looked up to for ſafety and freedom."‡

It is hoped poſterity will be taught in what manner he transformed an undiſciplined body of peaſantry into a regular

† Bell. ‡ ibid.

army of ſoldiers. Commentaries on his campaigns would undoubtedly be highly intereſting and inſtructive to future generations. The conduct of the firſt campaign, in compelling the Britiſh troops to abandon Boſton by a bloodleſs victory, will merit a minute narration. But a volume would ſcarcely contain the mortifications he experienced, and the hazards* to which he was expoſed in 1776 and 1777, in contending againſt the proweſs of Britain, with an inadequate force. His good deſtiny and conſummate prudence, prevented want of ſucceſs from producing want of confidence on the part of the public; for want of ſucceſs is apt to lead to the adoption of pernicious counſels through the verſatility of the people, or the ambition of demagogues. Shortly after this period, ſprang up the only cabal that ever exiſted during his public life, to rob him of his reputation and command. It proved as impotent in effect, as it was audacious in deſign. In the three ſucceeding years, the germ of diſcipline unfolded; and the reſources of America having been called into co-ope-

* See Note (D) in the Appendix.

ration with the land and naval forces of France, produced the glorious concluſion of the campaign in 1781. From this time the gloom began to diſappear from our political horizon, and the affairs of the Union proceeded in a meliorating train, until a peace was moſt ably negociated by our Ambaſſadors, in Europe, in 1783.

No perſon, who had not the advantage of being preſent when General WASHINGTON received the intelligence of peace, and who did not accompany him to his domeſtic retirement, can deſcribe the relief which that joyful event brought to his laboring mind, or the ſupreme ſatisfaction with which he withdrew to private life. From his triumphal entry into New-York, upon the evacuation of that city by the Britiſh army, to his arrival at Mount Vernon, after the reſignation of his commiſſion to Congreſs, feſtive crowds impeded his paſſage through all the populous towns; the devotion of a whole people purſued him with prayers to Heaven for bleſſings on his head, while their gratitude ſought the moſt expreſſive language of manifeſting itſelf to him as their common father and benefactor.

When he became a private citizen, he had the unuſual felicity to find that his native State was among the moſt zealous to do juſtice to his merits; and that ſtronger demonſtrations of affectionate eſteem (if poſſible) were given by the citizens of his neighborhood, than by any other deſcription of men on the continent. But he conſtantly declined accepting any compenſation for his ſervices or proviſion for the augmented expenſes incurred in conſequence of his public employment, although propoſals were made him in the moſt delicate manner, particularly by the States of Virginia and Pennſylvania.

THE virtuous ſimplicity which diſtinguiſhed the private life of General WASHINGTON, though leſs known than the dazzling ſplendor of his military achievements, is not leſs edifying in example, or worthy the attention of his countrymen. The conſpicuous character he acted on the theatre of human affairs, the uniform dignity with which he ſuſtained his part amidſt difficulties of the moſt diſcouraging nature, and the glory of having arrived through them at the hour of triumph, made many

official and literary perſons, on both ſides of the ocean, ambitious of a correſpondence with him. Theſe correſpondencies unavoidably engroſſed a great portion of his time; and the communications contained in them, combined with the numerous periodical publications and newspapers which he peruſed, rendered him, as it were, the *focus of political intelligence for the new world.* Nor were his converſations with well-informed men leſs conducive to bring him acquainted with the various events which happened in different countries of the globe. Every foreigner of diſtinction, who traveled in America, made it a point to viſit him. Members of Congreſs and other dignified perſonages did not paſs his houſe, without calling to pay him their reſpects. As another ſource of information it may be mentioned, that many literary productions were ſent to him annually by their authors in Europe; and that there was ſcarcely one work written in America on any art, ſcience, or ſubject, which did not ſeek his protection, or which was not offered to him as a token of gratitude. Mechanical inventions were frequently ſubmitted to him

for his approbation, and natural curioſities preſented for his inveſtigation. But the multiplicity of epiſtolary applications, often on the remains of ſome buſineſs which happened when he was Commander in Chief; ſometimes on ſubjects foreign to his ſituation, frivolous in their nature, and intended merely to gratify the vanity of the writers, by drawing anſwers from him, was truly diſtreſſing and almoſt incredible. His benignity in anſwering, perhaps, increaſed the number. Had he not huſbanded every moment to the beſt advantage, it would not have been in his power to have noticed the vaſt variety of ſubjects that claimed his attention.

In this manner he ſpent his time, from the peace of 1783, till he was elected a Member of the Convention who framed, in Philadelphia, in the ſummer of 1787, the preſent Conſtitution of the United States. Of this Convention of ſages, he was choſen Preſident, and with his name he has ſanctioned the Conſtitution of their and his country's choice.

When this Conſtitution, adopted by the nation, was to be organized and put in

operation, by an election of the proper officers, the United States, "steadfast in their preference, with one voice summoned their beloved WASHINGTON, unpractised as he was, in the duties of civil administration," to the chair of government. He heard their voice "with veneration and love,"* and with that self diffidence and modesty, which ever accompany pre-eminent merit, he obeyed their summons. On the 30th of April, 1789, he was inaugurated PRESIDENT of the United States, in the city of New-York, amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators. "It seemed, by the number of witnesses," says one, who beheld the interesting scene, "to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may perhaps be an enthusiast: but I confess, I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the Universe was looking down at that moment, with peculiar complacency, on an act, which, to a part of his creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the Chancellor pronounced, in a very

* SEE Note (E) in the Appendix.

feeling manner, "*Long live* GEORGE WASHINGTON," my ſenſibility was wound up to ſuch a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the reſt, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

In the autumn after his induction into office, he viſited the Eaſtern States; with how much delight and advantage to the people, and ſatisfaction to his own mind, let the volume of their addreſſes and his anſwers teſtify.

With what dignity, wiſdom, firmneſs, integrity, and high and general approbation, he performed the duties of his moſt arduous, elevated, and reſponſible office, during his eight years adminiſtration, his Eulogiſts have eloquently announced, and Hiſtorians will record with pride and admiration. "Commencing his adminiſtration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wiſe principles announced by himſelf, as the baſis of his political life. He beſt underſtood the indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs, between duty and advantage, between the

genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and individual felicity: watching with an equal and comprehenſive eye over this great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts, he laid the foundations of our national policy, in the unerring and immutable principles of morality, baſed on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens, or command the reſpect of the world."*

During his adminiſtration as our Supreme Executive Magiſtrate, "his talents and his virtues increaſed with his cares. His ſoul ſeemed not to bear the limits of office a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotiſm withdrew their reſtraints from his univerſal love. When the miſguided ſavages of the wilderneſs, after feeling his chaſtiſement, had ſued for peace; he ſeemed to labor for their happineſs as the common repreſentative of mankind. Inſurrection was ſo ſtruck at his countenance, that it fled from the ſhock of his arms. Intrigue attempted to entangle him in her

* Major Gen. H. Lee's Funeral Oration.

poiſonous web, but he burſt it with gigantic ſtrength, and cruſhed her labors. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was daſhed into oblivion, as we truſt, forever. The nations of Europe ſaw the wiſdom of our laws, the vigor of our meaſures, the juſtice of our policy, the firmneſs of our government, and acquieſced in the neutrality of our ſtation."†

TWICE elected by the unanimous voice of his country to the Preſidential chair, when the period for a third election arrived, in September 1796, when the ſtate of his country was ſuch that he conſidered it no longer neceſſary for him to ſacrifice his inclination to his duty, he announced to his fellow citizens, in an ADDRESS which will be immortal as his name, his determination to retire, and requeſting them not to conſider him as a candidate for their future ſuffrages; thus preventing "the anxious wiſhes of an affectionate people, from adding a third unanimous teſtimonial of their unabated confidence in the Man ſo long enthroned in their hearts." Having ſpent *forty-five* years of his life in the ſervice of

† JUDGE MINOT'S EULOGY.

his country, he conſoled himſelf with the hope that he was now quitting forever "the boundleſs field of public action, inceſſant trouble, and high reſponſibility," in which he had ſo long acted a principal part; but this fond hope was not realized. He had not yet arrived at the pinnacle of human greatneſs. One aſcending ſtep yet remained untaken. From March 1797, to July 1798, he lived in peace, at his beloved retreat, diſcharging the duties of a private citizen with a condeſcenſion and greatneſs of mind peculiar to himſelf. At the latter period, "when every thing we hold dear and ſacred was ſeriouſly threatened,"* the voice of his countrymen was raiſed to him, as the Inſtrument, under Providence, for their protection: He heard it and inſtantly obeyed; and thus advanced the laſt aſcending ſtep in the career of earthly glory. On this high and commanding ground, he ſtood, venerable in ſervices as in years, the cement and the bulwark of our nation, till the 14th of Dec. 1799, when he was ſummoned above, to join that noble company of the "wiſe, who ſhall

* See Note (F) in the Appendix.

ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament, and as the ſtars forever and ever."

His laſt ſickneſs was ſhort and painful. On Thurſday the 12th, he was abroad on one of his plantations. The day was rainey and he took cold ; which, on Friday, produced a violent inflammation in the throat. The following night his diſeaſe became very alarming, and he was urged to ſend to Alexandria for his phyſician. His humanity for his ſervants prevented it till the next morning. At 11 o'clock on Saturday his Phyſician arrived. It was too late. The hand of death was already upon him. Tho his diſtreſs was extreme, he was calm and reſigned. "He informed his attendants that his affairs were in good order ; that he had made his will, and that his public buſineſs was but two days behind hand." A very ſhort time before he died, he ſaid to his Phyſician, "*Doctor What is the clock? How long am I to remain in this ſituation?* The Doctor replied, "*Not long Sir.*" He then rejoined with the firmeſt countenance "*I have no fear, Doctor, to die.*" His breathing ſoon grew ſhorter ; and preſently after he expired without a ſigh or a groan."

GENERAL WASHINGTON in his perſon was tall, upright, and well made; in his manners eaſy and unaffected. His eyes were of a blueiſh caſt, not prominent, indicative of deep thoughtfulneſs, and when in action, on great occaſions remarkably lively. His features ſtrong, manly, and commanding; his temper reſerved and ſerious; his countenance grave, compoſed, and ſenſible. There was in his whole appearance an unuſual dignity and gracefulneſs which at once ſecured for him profound reſpect, and cordial eſteem. He ſeemed born to command his fellow men. In his official capacity he received applicants for favors, and anſwered their requeſts with ſo much eaſe, condeſcenſion and kindneſs, as that each retired, believing himſelf a favorite of his Chief. He had an excellent and well cultivated underſtanding; a correct, diſcerning, and comprehenſive mind; a memory remarkably retentive; energetic paſſions under perfect controul; a judgment ſober, deliberate, and ſound. He was a man of the ſtricteſt honor and honeſty, fair and honorable in his dealings; and punctual to his engagements. His diſpoſition was mild, kind, and generous. Candour ſince-

rity, moderation, and ſimplicity, were, in common, prominent features in his character; but when an occaſion called, he was capable of diſplaying the moſt determined bravery, firmneſs, and independence. He was an affectionate huſband, a faithful friend, a humane maſter, and a father to the poor. He lived in the unvarying habits of regularity, temperance, and induſtry. He ſteadily roſe at the dawn of day, and retired to reſt uſually at 9 o'clock in the evening. The intermediate hours all had their proper buſineſs aſſigned them. In his allotments for the revolving hours, religion was not forgotten. Feeling, what he ſo often publicly acknowledged, his entire dependence on GOD, he daily, at ſtated ſeaſons, retired to his cloſet, to worſhip at his footſtool, and to aſk his divine bleſſing. He was remarkable for his ſtrict obſervation of the Sabbath, and exemplary in his attendance on public worſhip.

OF his faith in the truth and excellency of the holy ſcriptures, he gave evidence, not only by his excellent and moſt exemplary life, but in his writings; eſpecially when he aſcribes the meliorated con-

dition of mankind, and the increaſed bleſſings of ſociety, "*above all, to the* PURE *and benign light of* REVELATION;" and when he offers to GOD, his earneſt prayer "that he would moſt graciouſly be pleaſed to diſpoſe us all to do juſtice, to love mercy, and to demean ourſelves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteriſtics of the *Divine Author of our bleſſed religion;* without an humble imitation of whoſe example, in theſe things we can never hope to be a happy nation."* In an addreſs to him, immediately after he commenced his Preſidency over the United States, from a venerable and reſpectable body of men, who were in the beſt ſituation to know his religious character, and who, no doubt, expreſſed what they knew, is the following teſtimony to his faith in Chriſtianity "But we derive a preſage," ſay they, "even more flattering, from the piety of your character. Public virtue is the moſt certain mean of public felicity; and religion is the ſureſt baſis of virtue. We therefore eſteem it a peculiar happi-

* SEE his Circular Letter to the Governors of the ſeveral States, dated Newburg, June 18, 1783.

neſs to behold in our Chief Magiſtrate, a *ſteady, uniform,* AVOWED *friend of the Chriſtian Religion;* who has commenced his adminiſtration in rational and exalted ſentiments of piety, and who, in his private conduct, *adorns the doctrines of the Goſpel of Chriſt.*" Grounded on theſe pure and excellent doctrines, to which his life was ſo conformable; copying, as he did, with ſuch exemplary ſtrictneſs and uniformity, the precepts of Chriſt, we have ſtrong conſolation and joy in believing, that e're this, he has heard from his GOD and Saviour, this enrapturing ſentence: *Well done good and faithful ſervant, enter into the joy of your Lord.*

WHAT a bleſſing to the world, what an honor to human nature, is a character thus "throughout ſublime?" What a bright exemplar for kings, for princes, for rulers of every name, for warriors, for farmers, for Chriſtians, for mankind? Thanks be to GOD for ſo rich a gift; praiſe to his name for beſtowing it on our nation, and thus diſtinguiſhing it above all others on the globe, and let all the PEOPLE OF COLUMBIA, WITH ONE VOICE, SAY AMEN.

National Testimonials of Respect.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

House of Representatives, Dec. 18, 1799.

IMMEDIATELY after the journals were read, General *Marshall* came into the House of Representatives, apparently much agitated, and said,

MR. SPEAKER,

INFORMATION has just been received, that our illustrious fellow-citizen, the Commander in Chief of the American army, and the late President of the United States, is no more. Though this distressing intelligence is not certain, there is too much reason to believe its truth.

AFTER receiving information of a national calamity so heavy, and so afflicting,

the Houſe of Repreſentatives can be but ill fitted for public buſineſs. I move you, therefore, that we adjourn.

THE Houſe immediately adjourned.

THURSDAY, Dec. 19.

The following Meſſage was received from THE PRESIDENT *of the United States.*

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

THE letter herewith tranſmitted will inform you, that it has pleaſed Divine Providence to remove from this life, our excellent fellow-citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON, by the purity of his character, and a long ſeries of ſervices to his country rendered illuſtrious through the world. It remains for an affectionate and grateful people, in whoſe hearts he can never die, to pay ſuitable honor to his memory.

JOHN ADAMS.

"MOUNT VERNON, Dec. 16, 1799.

"*SIR,*

"IT is with inexpreſſible grief that I have to announce to you the death of the great and good Gen. WASHINGTON. He died laſt evening, between 10 and 11 o'clock, after a ſhort illneſs of about twenty-four hours. His diſorder was an inflammatory ſore throat which proceeded from a cold, of which he made but little complaint on Friday. On Saturday morning about three o'clock, he became ill. Dr. *Dick* attended him in the morning, and Dr. *Craik*, of Alexandria, and Dr. *Brown*, of Port Tobacco, were ſoon after called in. Every medical aſſiſtance was offered, but without the deſired effect. His laſt ſcene correſponded with the whole tenor of his life. Not a groan, nor a complaint, eſcaped him, though in extreme diſtreſs.—With perfect reſignation, and a full poſſeſſion of his reaſon, he cloſed his well ſpent life. I have the honor to be, &c.

"TOBIAS LEAR.

"*The Preſident of the United States.*"

GEN. MARSHALL, with deep ſorrow on his countenance, and in a pathetic tone of voice, thus addreſſed the houſe:—

MR. SPEAKER,

THE melancholy event which was yeſterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our WASHINGTON is no more!—The hero, the ſage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now, only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and affected people.

IF, Sir, it had not been uſual, openly to teſtify reſpect for the memory of thoſe whom heaven had ſelected as its inſtruments, for diſpenſing good to man: yet, ſuch has been the uncommon worth, and ſuch the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whoſe loſs we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the ſame feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifeſtation of that ſorrow which is ſo deep and ſo univerſal.

More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was poſſible, has he contributed to found this our wide ſpreading empire, and to give to the weſtern world its independence and its freedom. Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have ſeen him convert the ſword into the plough-ſhare, and voluntarily ſink the ſoldier in the citizen.

When the debility of our federal ſyſtem had become manifeſt, and the bonds which connected the parts of this vaſt continent were diſſolving, we had ſeen him the chief of thoſe patriots who formed for us a conſtitution, which, by preſerving the union, will, I truſt, ſubſtantiate and perpetuate thoſe bleſſings our revolution had promiſed to beſtow.

In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling on him to preſide over a great people, we have ſeen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a ſeaſon more ſtormy and tempeſtuous than war itſelf, with calm and wiſe determination

purſue the true intereſts of the nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the eſtabliſhment of that ſyſtem of policy which will, I truſt, yet preſerve our peace, our honor, and our independence. Having been twice unanimouſly choſen the chief magiſtrate of a free people, we ſee him, at a time when his re-election with the univerſal ſuffrage could not have been doubted, affording the world a rare inſtance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high ſtation to the peaceful walks of private life.

HOWEVER public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with reſpect to others, yet, with reſpect to him, they have, in war and in peace in public and in private life, been as ſteady as his own firm mind, and as conſtant as his own exalted virtues.

LET us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the laſt tribute of reſpect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation diſplay thoſe ſentiments which the nation feels.

For this purpoſe, I hold in my hand ſome reſolutions which I will take the liberty to offer to the Houſe:

"Resolved, that this Houſe will wait on the Preſident of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event:

"Resolved, that the Speaker's chair be ſhrouded with black, and that the Members and officers of the Houſe wear black during the ſeſſion:

"Resolved, that a committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to conſider on the moſt ſuitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the man, firſt in war, firſt in peace, and firſt in the hearts of his country:

"Resolved, that this Houſe, when it adjourn, do adjourn to Monday."

These reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to. Sixteen members were appointed on the third reſolution.

Generals *Marſhall* and *Smith*, having waited on the Preſident to know when

he would be ready to receive the Houſe—the Preſident named one o'clock this day. The Houſe accordingly waited on him, when the Speaker thus addreſſed the Preſident:

Sir,

THE Houſe of Repreſentatives, penetrated with a ſenſe of the irreparable loſs ſuſtained by the nation, by the death of that great and good man, the illuſtrious and beloved WASHINGTON, wait on you, Sir, to expreſs their condolence on this melancholy and diſtreſſing event.

To which the Preſident replied.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

I RECEIVE with the greateſt reſpect and affection, the condolence of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, on the melancholy and afflicting event in the death of the moſt illuſtrious and beloved perſonage which this country ever produced. I ſympathize with you—with the nation, and with good men, through the world, in the irreparable loſs ſuſtained by us all.

JOHN ADAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 23, 1799.

THE Senate of the United States, this day, ſent the following letter of condolence to the Preſident, by a committee of its Members, to which he returned the annexed anſwer.

To the Preſident of the United States.

THE Senate of the United States reſpectfully take leave, Sir, to expreſs to you their deep regret for the loſs their country ſuſtains in the death of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THIS event, ſo diſtreſſing to all our fellow citizens, muſt be peculiarly heavy on you, who have long been aſſociated with him in deeds of patriotiſm. Permit us, Sir, to mingle our tears with yours: On this occaſion it is manly to weep. To loſe ſuch a man at ſuch a criſis is no common calamity to the world: Our country mourns her father. The Almighty Diſpoſer of human events has taken from us our greateſt benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to ſubmit with reverence to him, who "maketh darkneſs his pavillion."

WITH patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with thoſe of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminiſhed before him. Greatneſs and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The deſtroyers of nations ſtood abaſhed at the majeſty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the ſplendor of victory. The ſcene is cloſed, and we are no longer anxious leſt misfortune ſhould ſully his glory; he has travelled to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increaſing weight of glory: he has depoſited it ſafely, where misfortune cannot tarniſh it, where malice cannot blaſt it. Favored of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakneſs of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkneſs of the grave could not obſcure his brightneſs.

SUCH was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to GOD, his glory is conſummated; WASHINGTON yet lives on earth in his ſpotleſs example—his ſpirit is in Heaven.

LET his countrymen conſecrate the memory of the heroic General, the patriotic Stateſman, and the virtuous Sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors, and his example, are their inheritance.

Preſident's Anſwer.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I RECEIVE with the moſt reſpectful and affectionate ſentiments, in this impreſſive addreſs, the obliging expreſſions of your regret, for the loſs our country has ſuſtained, in the death of her moſt eſteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

IN the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to ſay, that I have ſeen him in the days of adverſity, in ſome of the ſcenes of his deepeſt diſtreſs and moſt trying perplexities—I have alſo attended him in his higheſt elevation and moſt proſperous felicity—with uniform admiration of his wiſdom, moderation and conſtancy.

AMONG all our original aſſociates, in that memorable league of the Continent in 1774, which firſt expreſſed the ſovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although, with a conſtitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it neceſſary to prepare for retirement, I feel myſelf alone, bereaved of my laſt brother—yet I derive a ſtrong conſolation from the unanimous diſpoſition, which appears in all ages and claſſes, to mingle their ſorrows with mine, on this common calamity to the world.

THE life of our WASHINGTON cannot ſuffer by a compariſon with thoſe of other countries, who have been moſt celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty, could have only ſerved to eclipſe the majeſty of thoſe virtues which made him, from being a modeſt citizen, a more reſplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have ſullied his glory only with thoſe ſuperficial minds, who, believing that characters and actions are marked by ſucceſs alone, rarely deſerve to enjoy it.

Malice could never have blaſted his honor, and envy made him a ſingular exception to her univerſal rule.

For himſelf he had lived enough, to life and to glory; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been anſwered, he would have been immortal. For me, his departure is at a moſt unfortunate moment. Truſting, however, in the wiſe and righteous dominion of providence over the paſſions of men, and the reſults of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me, but humble reſignation.

His example is now complete, and it will teach wiſdom and virtue to magiſtrates, citizens, and men, not only in the preſent age, but in future generations, as long as our hiſtory ſhall be read. If a *Trajan* found a *Pliny*, a *Marcus Aurelius* can never want biographers, eulogiſts, or hiſtorians.

JOHN ADAMS.

In the Houſe of Repreſentatives, General *Marſhall*, made a report in part,

from the joint committee appointed to conſider a ſuitable mode of commemorating the death of Gen. WASHINGTON.

HE reported the following reſolutions:

Reſolved by the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States of America, in Congreſs aſſembled, That a marble monument be erected, by the Uuited States, in the capitol of the city of Waſhington, and that the family of Gen. WASHINGTON be requeſted to permit his body to be depoſited under it, and that the monument be ſo deſigned as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further Reſolved, That there be a funeral proceſſion from Congreſs hall, to the German Lutheran church, in memory of GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON, on Thurſday, the 26th inſt. and that an Oration be prepared at the requeſt of Congreſs, to be delivered before both Houſes on that day; and that the Preſident of the Senate, and Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, be deſired to requeſt one of the Members of Congreſs to prepare and deliver the ſame.

And be it further Reſolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further Reſolved, That the Preſident be requeſted to direct a copy of theſe reſolutions to be tranſmitted to Mrs. *Waſhington*, aſſuring her of the profound reſpect Congreſs will ever bear to her perſon and character, of their condolence on the late afflicting diſpenſation of providence, and entreating her aſſent to the interment of the remains of Gen. WASHINGTON in the manner expreſſed in the firſt reſolution.

And be it further Reſolved, That the Preſident be requeſted to iſſue a Proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States, the recommendation contained in the third reſolution.

THESE reſolutions paſſed both Houſes unanimouſly.

DECEMBER 24.

THIS day, in the Houſe of Repreſentatives, the Speaker informed the Houſe, that in conformity to the ſecond reſolution

paſſed on Monday, Major-General *Lee* had been appointed, by the Preſident of the Senate, and the Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, to prepare and deliver the Oration in honor of our late illuſtrious Commander in Chief, on Thurſday next, which appointment he had been pleaſed to accept.

A MESSAGE was received from the Preſident of the United States, notifying the Houſe that he had agreed to the reſolutions paſſed on Monday, in honor to the memory of GENERAL WASHINGTON, and depoſited them among the rolls and records of the United States.

THE Senate of the United States have come to an order, that the Members wear black during the ſeſſion, and that the chair of the Preſident be ſhrouded with black, overhung with curtains of black, and the whole chamber lined in a ſimilar manner—as a teſtimony of reſpect for the memory of their beloved and regretted late fellow-citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE Preſident, with deep regret, announces to the army the death of its beloved Chief, General GEORGE WASHINGTON.—Sharing in the grief, which every heart muſt feel for ſo heavy and afflicting a public loſs, and deſirous to expreſs the high ſenſe of the vaſt debt of gratitude which is due to the virtues, talents, and ever memorable ſervices of the illuſtrious deceaſed, he directs that funeral honors be paid to him at all the military ſtations, and that the officers of the army and of the ſeveral corps of volunteers, wear crape on the left arm, by way of mourning, for ſix months. Major-General *Hamilton* will give the neceſſary orders for carrying into effect the foregoing directions.

GIVEN at the War-Office of the United States, in Philadelphia, this 19th day of December, A. D. 1799, and in the 24th year of the Independence of the ſaid States.

By command of the Preſident,

JAMES M'HENRY.

Secretary of War.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

DECEMBER 20th, 1799.

THE Preſident, with deep affliction, announces to the Navy, and to the Marines, the death of our beloved fellow-citizen GEORGE WASHINGTON, Commander of our Armies, and late Preſident of the United States; but rendered more illuſtrious by his eminent virtues, and a long ſeries of the moſt important ſervices, than by the honors which his grateful country delighted to confer upon him.

Deſirous that the Navy and Marines ſhould expreſs, in common with every other deſcription of American citizens, the high ſenſe which all feel of the loſs our country has ſuſtained in the death of this good and great man; the Preſident directs that the veſſels of the Navy, in our own and in Foreign ports, be put into mourning for one week, by wearing their colours half-maſt high; and that the officers of the Navy and of the Marines, were crape on the left arm, below the elbow, for ſix months.

BENJAMIN STODDERT.

GENERAL ORDERS.

MAJOR-General *Hamilton* prefaces his Orders to the Military of the United States after reciting the Preſident's orders, as follows:—"The impreſſive terms, in which this great National calamity is announced by the Preſident, could receive no new force from any thing that might be added. The voice of praiſe would in vain endeavor to exalt a character, unrivalled on the liſts of true glory. Words would in vain attempt to give utterance to that profound and reverential grief, which will penetrate every American boſom, and engage the ſympathy of an admiring world. If the ſad privilege of pre-eminence in ſorrow may juſtly be claimed by the companions in arms of our lamented Chief, their affections will ſpontaneouſly perform the dear though painful duty. 'Tis only for me to mingle my tears with thoſe of my fellow-ſoldiers, cheriſhing with them the precious recollection, that while others are paying a merited tribute to "*The Man of the Age*," we in particular, allied as we were to him by a cloſer tie, are called to mourn the irreparable loſs of a kind and venerated Patron and Father!"

In obedience to the directions of the Preſident, the following funeral honors will be paid at the ſeveral ſtations of the army.

At day-break ſixteen guns will be fired in quick ſucceſſion, and one gun at the diſtance of each half hour till ſun-ſet.

During the proceſſion of the troops to the place repreſenting that of interment, and until the concluſion of the ceremonial, minute guns will be fired.

The bier will be received by the troops formed in line, preſenting their arms, and the officers, drums and colours ſaluting; after this the proceſſion will begin; the troops marching by platoons in inverted order, and with arms reverſed to the place of interment; the drums muffled and the muſic playing a dead march.

The bier carried by four Serjeants and attended by ſix pall-bearers, where there is cavalry, will be preceded by the cavalry and will be followed by the troops on foot. Where there is no cavalry, a detachment of infantry will precede the bier,

which itſelf will in every caſe be preceded by ſuch of the Clergy as may be preſent. The Officers of the General Staff will immediately ſucceed the bier.

WHERE a numerous body of citizens ſhall be united with the Military in the proceſſion, the whole of the troops will precede the bier, which will then be followed by the Citizens.

WHEN arrived near the place of interment, the proceſſion will halt. The troops in front of the bier will form in line, and opening their ranks will face inwards to admit the paſſage of the bier, which will then paſs through the ranks, the troops leaning on their arms reverſed while the bier paſſes! When the bier ſhall have paſſed, the troops will reſume their poſition in line, and reverſing their arms will remain leaning upon them until the ceremonial ſhall be cloſed.

THE Muſic will now perform a ſolemn air, after which the introductory part of this order ſhall be read.

At the end of this a detachment of infantry appointed for the purpoſe will advance and fire three vollies over the bier. The troops will then return; the muſic playing the Preſident's march, the drums previouſly unmuffled.

The uniform companies of Militia are invited to join in arms the Volunteer corps.

The Commanders at particular ſtations, conforming generally to this plan, will make ſuch exceptions as will accommodate it to ſituation. At places where proceſſions of unarmed Citizens ſhall take place, it is the wiſh of the Major-General that the military ceremonial ſhould be united. And the particular Commanders at thoſe places are authorifed to vary the plan, ſo as to adapt it to the circumſtances.

The day of performing the ceremonial at each ſtation is left to the particular Commander.

PHILIP CHURCH,
Aid-de-Camp.

A PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEREAS the Congreſs of the United States have this day reſolved, "That it be recommended to the people of the United States to aſſemble on the twenty-ſecond day of February next, in ſuch numbers and manner as may be convenient, publicly to teſtify their grief for the death of Gen. GEORGE WASHINGTON, by ſuitable eulogies, orations and diſcourſes, or by public prayers;" and, "That the Preſident be requeſted to iſſue a Proclamation, for the purpoſe of carrying the forgoing reſolution into effect." NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN ADAMS, Preſident of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the ſame accordingly.

GIVEN under my hand, and the ſeal of the United States, at Philadelphia, the ſixth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thouſand eight hundred, and of the Independence of the ſaid States the twenty-fourth.

JOHN ADAMS.

By the Preſident,

TIMOTHY PICKERING, Secretary of State.

ALEXANDRIA, (VIRG.) DEC. 21, 1799.

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE LATE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SOME time in the night of Friday, the 10th inſtant, having been expoſed to a rain on the preceding day, General WASHINGTON was attacked with an inflammatory affection of the upper part of the wind pipe, called in technical language *Cynache Trachealies*. The diſeaſe commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with ſome pain in the upper and fore part of the throat, a ſenſe of ſtricture in the ſame part, a cough, and a difficult, rather than a painful deglutition, which were ſoon ſucceeded by fever and a quick and laborious reſpiration. The neceſſity of bloodletting ſuggeſting itſelf to the General, he procured a bleeder in the neighborhood, who took from his arm in the night 12 or 14 ounces of blood. He could not by any means be prevailed on by the family to ſend for the attending phyſician till the following morning, who arrived at Mount Vernon at about 11 o'clock on Sat-

urday. Diſcovering the caſe to be highly alarming, and foreſeeing the fatal tendency of the diſeaſe, two conſulting phyſicians were immediately ſent for, who arrived, one at half after three, and the other at four o'clock in the afternoon: In the mean time were employed two pretty copious bleedings, a bliſter was applied to the part affected, two moderate doſes of calomel were given, and an injection was adminiſtered, which operated on the lower inteſtines, but all without any perceptible advantage, the reſpiration becoming ſtill more difficult and diſtreſſing. Upon the arrival of the firſt of the conſulting phyſicians, it was agreed, as there were yet no ſigns of accumulation in the bronchial veſſels of the lungs, to try the reſult of another bleeding, when about 32 ounces of blood were drawn, without the ſmalleſt apparent alleviation of the diſeaſe. Vapours of vinegar and water were frequently inhaled, ten grains of calomel were given, ſucceeded by repeated doſes of emetic tartar, amounting in all to 5 or 6 grains, with no other effect than a copious diſcharge from

the bowels. The powers of life ſeemed now manifeſtly yielding to the force of the diſorder; bliſters were applied to the extremities, together with a cataplaſm of bran and vinegar to the throat. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, now became almoſt impracticable; reſpiration grew more and more contracted and imperfect, till half after 11 on Saturday night, retaining the full poſſeſſion of his intellect—when he expired without a ſtruggle.

He was fully impreſſed at the beginning of his complaint, as well as through every ſucceeding ſtage of it, that its concluſion would be mortal; ſubmitting to the ſeveral exertions made for his recovery, rather as a duty, than from any expectation of their efficacy. He conſidered the operations of death upon his ſyſtem as coeval with the diſeaſe; and ſeveral hours before his death, after repeated efforts to be underſtood, ſucceeded in expreſſing a deſire that he might be permitted to die without further interruption.

DURING the ſhort period of his illneſs, he economized his time, in the arrangement of ſuch few concerns as required his attention, with the utmoſt ſerenity; and anticipated his approaching diſſolution with every demonſtration of that equanimity for which his whole life has been ſo uniformly and ſingularly conſpicuous.

JAMES CRAIK, *Attending Phyſician.*
ELISHA C. DICK, *Conſulting Phyſician.*

WASHINGTON's FUNERAL.

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Alexandria, dated Dec. 19, 1799.

"YESTERDAY I attended the Funeral of the Saviour of our country at *Mount Vernon;* and had the honor of being one who carried his Body to the vault. He was borne by military gentlemen, and brethren of our Lodge, of which he was formerly Maſter. I incloſe you a ſketch of the Proceſſion. To deſcribe the ſcene is impoſſible. The coffin bore his Sword and Apron; and the Members of the Lodge walked as mourners. His horſe

was led, properly caparisoned, by two of his servants, in mourning.

"As I helped place his body in the vault, and stood at the door while the funeral service was performing, I had the best opportunity of observing the countenances of all. Every one was affected, but none so much as his domestics of all ages."

INTERMENT.

GEORGETOWN, DEC. 20, 1799.

ON Wednesday last, the mortal part of WASHINGTON the great—the father of his country and the friend of man, was consigned to the tomb, with solemn honors and funeral pomp.

A MULTITUDE of persons assembled, from many miles around, at Mount Vernon, the choice abode and last residence of the illustrious Chief. There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful and sublime scenes, the noble mansion; but, alas! the august inhabitant *was now no more*. That great soul was *gone*. His mortal part was there *indeed;* but ah! how

affecting! how awful the ſpectacle of ſuch worth and greatneſs, thus, to *mortal* eyes, fallen: Yes! fallen! fallen!

In the long and lofty *Portico* where oft the Hero walked in all his glory, *now* lay the ſhrouded corpſe. The countenance ſtill compoſed and ſerene, ſeemed to expreſs the dignity of the ſpirit which lately dwelt in that lifeleſs form. There thoſe who paid the laſt ſad honors to the benefactor of his country, took an impreſſive, a farewell view.

On the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inſcribed SURGE AD JUDICIUM; about the middle of the coffin GLORIA DEO; and on the ſilver plate,

GENERAL

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

DEPARTED THIS LIFE, ON THE 14th DECEMBER, 1799, Æt. 68.

Between three and four o'clock, the ſound of artillery from a veſſel in the river, firing minute guns, awoke afreſh our ſolemn ſorrow; the corpſe was moved; a

band of muſic with mournful melody, melted the ſoul into all the tenderneſs of woe.

THE proceſſion was formed and moved on in the following order:

Cavalry, Infantry, } With arms reverſed { Guard,
Muſic,
Clergy,
The General's horſe, with his ſaddle, holſters, and piſtols.

Col. Simms, *Col.* Gilpin,
Col. Ramſay, *Col.* Marſteller,
Col. Payne, *Col.* Little,
CORPSE.

Mourners,
Maſonic Brethren,
Citizens.

WHEN the proceſſion had arrived at the bottom of the elevated lawn, on the banks of the Potomac, where the family vault is placed, the cavalry halted, the in-

fantry marched towards the Mount and formed the inlines; the clergy, the Masonic brothers, and the citizens, descended to the vault, and the funeral service of the church was performed. The firing was repeated from the vessel in the river, and the sounds echoed from the woods and hills around.

THREE general discharges by the infantry; the cavalry, and 11 pieces of artillery, which lined the banks of the Potomac back of the vault, paid the last tribute to the entombed Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, and to the venerable departed Hero.

THE sun was now setting. Alas! the *Sun of Glory* was set forever. No—the name of *WASHINGTON*, the American President and General, will triumph over death; the unclouded brightness of his Glory will illuminate future ages.

PRESIDENT's MESSAGE.

MR. SHAW, Secretary to the Preſident, communicated the following Meſſage:

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

IN compliance with the requeſt in one of the reſolutions of Congreſs of the 21ſt of December laſt, I tranſmitted a copy of thoſe reſolutions by my Secretary, Mr. Shaw, to Mrs. WASHINGTON, aſſuring her of the profound reſpect Congreſs will ever bear to her perſon and character; of their condolence in the late afflicting diſpenſation of Providence, and intreating her aſſent to the interment of the remains of General GEORGE WASHINGTON, in the manner expreſſed in the firſt reſolution. As the ſentiments of that virtuous lady, not leſs beloved by this nation, than ſhe is at preſent greatly afflicted, can never be ſo well expreſſed as in her own words; I tranſmit to Congreſs her original letter.

IT would be an attempt of too much delicacy, to make any comments upon it, but there can be do doubt, that the nation at large, as well as all the branches of the

government, will be highly gratified by any arrangement which may diminish the sacrifice she makes of her individual feelings.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Jan. 8, 1800.

MRS. WASHINGTON'S LETTER.

Mount Vernon, Dec. 31, 1799.

SIR,

WHILE I feel with keenest anguish, the late dispensations of Divine Providence, I cannot be insensible to the mournful tributes of respect and veneration, which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband; and, as his best services and most anxious wishes, were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated, and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

TAUGHT by the great example, which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to

tranſmit me; and in doing this I need not, I cannot ſay, what a ſacrifice of individual feeling I make to a ſenſe of public duty.

WITH grateful acknowledgments and unfeigned thanks for the perſonal reſpect and evidences of condolence expreſſed by Congreſs and yourſelf; I remain very reſpectfully, Sir, your moſt obedient and humble ſervant,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

The Preſident of the United States.

Eulogies, Orations, &c.

FUNERAL ORATION,

ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL *WASHINGTON*, PRONOUNCED BEFORE BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, ON THE 26th DECEMBER, 1799.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL *HENRY LEE*.

IN obedience to your will, I riſe your humble organ, with the hope of executing a part of the ſyſtem of public mourning which you have been pleaſed to adopt, commemorative of the death of the moſt illuſtrious and moſt beloved perſonage this country has ever produced; and which, while it tranſmits to poſterity your ſenſe of the awful event, faintly repreſents your knowledge of the conſummate excellence you ſo cordially honor.

DESPERATE indeed is any attempt on earth to meet correſpondently this diſpenſation of Heaven: For, while with pious reſignation we ſubmit to the will of an all-gracious Providence, we can never ceaſe lamenting in our finite view of Omnipotent Wiſdom, the heart-rending privation for which our nation weeps. When the civilized world ſhakes to its centre: when every moment gives birth to ſtrange and momentous changes, when our peaceful quarter of the globe, exempt as it happily has been from any ſhare in the ſlaughter of the human race, may yet be compelled to abandon her pacific policy, and to riſk the doleful caſualties of war: What limit is there to the extent of our loſs? None within the reach of my words to expreſs: None which your feelings will not diſavow.

THE founder of our federate republic —our bulwark in war, our guide in peace, is no more. Oh that this were but queſtionable! Hope, the comforter of the wretched, would pour into our agonizing hearts its balmy dew. But, alas! there is no hope for us. Our WASHINGTON is removed

forever. Poſſeſſing the ſtouteſt frame, and pureſt mind, he had paſſed nearly to his ſixty eighth year, in the enjoyment of high health, when, habituated by his care of us to neglect himſelf, a ſlight cold, diſregarded, became inconvenient on Friday, oppreſſive on Saturday, and defying every medical interpoſition, before the morning of Sunday, put an end to the beſt of men. An end did I ſay?—his fame ſurvives! bounded only by the limits of the earth, and by the extent of the human mind. He ſurvives in our hearts, in the growing knowledge of our children, in the affections of the good throughout the world—and when our monuments ſhall be done away: When nations now exiſting ſhall be no more: When even our young and far ſpreading empire ſhall have periſhed, ſtill will our WASHINGTON's glory unfaded ſhine, and die not, until love of virtue ceaſe on earth, or earth itſelf ſink into chaos.

How, my fellow citizens, ſhall I ſingle to your grateful hearts his pre-eminent worth? Where ſhall I begin in opening to

your view a character throughout ſublime? Shall I ſpeak of his warlike achievements, all ſpringing from obedience to his country's will—all directed to his country's good?

WILL you go with me to the banks of the Monongahela, to ſee your youthful WASHINGTON, ſupporting in the diſmal hour of Indian victory, the ill fated *Braddock*, and ſaving, by his judgment and by his valor, the remains of a defeated army, preſſed by the conquering ſavage foe? Or, when oppreſſed America, nobly reſolving to riſk her all in defence of her violated rights, he was elevated by the unanimous voice of Congreſs to the command of her Armies: Will you follow him to the high grounds of Boſton, where to an undiſciplined, courageous & virtuous yeomanry, his preſence gave the ſtability of ſyſtem, and infuſed the invincibility of love of Country? Or ſhall I carry you to the painful ſcenes of Long Iſland, York Iſland, and New-Jerſey, when, combating ſuperior and gallant armies, aided by powerful fleets, and led by Chiefs high in the roll of fame, he ſtood the bulwark of our ſafety; undiſmay-

ed by diſaſter; unchanged by change of fortune. Or will you view him in the precarious fields of Trenton, where deep glooms unnerving every arm, reigned triumphant through our thinned, worn down, unaided ranks: himſelf unmoved.—Dreadful was the night; it was about this time of winter—The ſtorm raged—the Delaware rolling furiouſly with floating ice forbade the approach of man. WASHINGTON, ſelf-collected, viewed the tremendous ſcene—his Country called; unappalled by ſurrounding dangers, he paſſed to the hoſtile ſhore: he fought; he conquered. The morning ſun cheered the American world. Our country roſe on the event; and her dauntleſs Chief purſuing his blow, completed in the lawns of Princeton what his vaſt ſoul had conceived on the ſhores of Delaware.

THENCE to the ſtrong grounds of Morris Town he led his ſmall but gallant band, and through an eventful winter, by the high efforts of his genius, whoſe matchleſs force was meaſurable only by the growth of difficulties, he held in check formidable hoſtile legions, conducted by a

Chief experienced in the art of war, and famed for his valor on the ever memorable heights of Abraham, where fell *Wolfe*, *Montcalm*, and ſince our much lamented *Montgomery*, all covered with glory. In this fortunate interval, produced by his maſterly conduct, our fathers, ourſelves, animated by his reſiſtleſs example, rallied around our Country's ſtandard, and continued to follow her beloved Chief, through the various and trying ſcenes to which the deſtinies of our Union led.

WHO is there that has forgotten the vales of Brandywine—the fields of Germantown, or the plains of Monmouth ? Every where preſent, wants of every kind obſtructing, numerous and valiant Armies encountering, himſelf a hoſt, he aſſuaged our ſufferings, limited our privations, and upheld our tottering Republic. Shall I diſplay to you the ſpread of the fire of his ſoul, by rehearſing the praiſes of the Hero of Saratoga, and his much loved compeer of the Carolinas ! No, our WASHINGTON wears not borrowed glory: To *Gates*—to *Green*, he gave without reſerve the applauſe due to their eminent merit ; and

long may the Chiefs of Saratoga and of Eutaws receive the grateful reſpect of a grateful people.

Moving in his own orbit, he imparted heat and light to his moſt diſtant ſatellites; and combining the phyſical & moral force of all within his ſphere, with irreſiſtable weight he took his courſe, commiſerating folly, diſdaining vice, diſmaying treaſon, and invigorating deſpondency, until the auſpicious hour arrived, when, united with the intrepid forces of a potent and magnanimous ally, he brought to ſubmiſſion the ſince conqueror of India: thus finiſhing his long career of military glory with a luſtre correſponding with his great name, and in this his laſt act of war, affixing the ſeal of fate to our Nation's birth.

To the horrid din of war ſweet peace ſucceeded; and our virtuous Chief, mindful only of the public good, in a moment tempting perſonal aggrandizement, huſhed the diſcontents of growing ſedition, and ſurrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his

ſword into a ploughſhare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great, you muſt be truly good.

WAS I to ſtop here the picture would be incomplete, and the taſk impoſed unfiniſhed—great as was our WASHINGTON in war, and much as did that greatneſs contribute to produce the American Republic, it is not in war alone his preeminence ſtands conſpicuous—his various talents combining all the capacities of a Stateſman with thoſe of a ſoldier, fitted him alike to guide the Councils and the Armies of our Nation. Scarcely had he reſted from his martial toils, while his invaluable parental advice was ſtill ſounding in our ears, when he who had been our ſhield and our ſword, was called forth to act a leſs ſplendid but more important part.

POSSESSING a clear and penetrating mind, a ſtrong & ſound judgment, calmneſs and temper for deliberation, with invincible firmneſs and perſeverance in reſolutions maturely formed, drawing information from all, acting from himſelf, with incorruptible integrity and unvarying patriotiſm

his own ſuperiority and the public confidence alike marked him as the man deſigned by Heaven to lead in the great political as well as military events which have diſtinguiſhed the æra of his life.

THE finger of an over-ruling Providence, pointing at WASHINGTON, was neither miſtaken nor unobſerved ; when, to realize the vaſt hopes to which our Revolution had given birth, a change of political ſyſtem became indiſpenſable.

How novel, how grand the ſpectacle, Independent States ſtretched over an immenſe territory, and known only by common difficulty, clinging to their Union as the rock of their ſafety, deciding by frank compariſon of their relative condition, to rear on that rock, under the guidance of reaſon, a common Government through whoſe commanding protection, Liberty and Order, with their long train of bleſſings, ſhould be ſafe to themſelves, and the ſure inheritance of their poſterity.

THIS arduous taſk devolved on Citizens ſelected by the people, from knowledge of their wiſdom and confidence in

their virtue. In this auguſt aſſembly of ſages and of patriots, WASHINGTON of courſe was found ; and, as if acknowledged to be moſt wiſe, where all were wiſe, with one voice he was declared their Chief. How well he merited this rare diſtinction, how faithful were the labors of himſelf and his compatriots, the work of their hands and our union, ſtrength and proſperity, the fruits of that work, beſt atteſt.

But to have eſſentially aided in preſenting to his Country this conſummation of her hopes, neither ſatisfied the claims of his fellow-citizens on his talents, nor thoſe duties which the poſſeſſion of thoſe talents impoſed. Heaven had not infuſed into his mind ſuch an uncommon ſhare of its ætherial ſpirit to remain unemployed, nor beſtowed on him his genius unaccompanied by the correſponding duty of devoting it to the common good. To have framed a conſtitution, was ſhowing only, without realizing the general happineſs. This great work remained to be done, and America, ſteadfaſt in her preference, with one voice ſummoned her beloved WASHINGTON, unpractiſed as he was in the duties of civil

adminiſtration, to execute this laſt act in the completion of the National felicity. Obedient to her call, he aſſumed the high office with that ſelf-diſtruſt peculiar to his innate modeſty, the conſtant attendant of pre-eminent virtue.—What was the burſt of joy through our anxious land on this exhilerating event is known to us all. The aged, the young, the brave, the fair, rivalled each other in demonſtrations of their gratitude ; and this high wrought delightful ſcene was heightened in its effect by the ſingular conteſt between the zeal of the beſtowers and the avoidance of the receiver of the honors beſtowed. Commencing his adminiſtration, what heart is not charmed with the recollection of the pure and wiſe principles announced by himſelf, as the baſis of his political life ? He beſt underſtood the indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and individual felicity : watching with an equal and comprehenſive eye over this great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts, he laid the foundations of our National policy in

the unerring immutable principles of morality, baſed on religion, exemplifying the pre-eminence of free government, by all the attributes which win the affections of its citizens or command the reſpect of the world.

"*O fortunatos dimium, ſua ſi bona norint!*"

LEADING thro the complicated difficulties produced by previous obligations and conflicting intereſts, ſeconded by ſucceeding Houſes of Congreſs, enlightened and patriotic, he ſurmounted all original obſtructions, and brightened the path of our National felicity.

THE Preſidential term expiring, his ſolicitude to exchange exaltation for humility returned, with a force increaſed with increaſe of age; and he had prepared his farewell addreſs to his Countrymen proclaiming his intention, when the united interpoſition of all around him, enforced by the eventful proſpects of the epoch, produced a further ſacrifice of inclination to duty. The election of Preſident followed, and WASHINGTON, by the unanimous vote of the Nation, was called to reſume the Chief Magiſtracy: what a wonderful fix-

ture of confidence !—Which attracts moſt our admiration, a people ſo correct, or a citizen combining an aſſemblage of talents forbidding rivalry, and ſtifling even envy itſelf? Such a Nation deſerves to be happy, ſuch a Chief muſt be forever revered.

War, long menaced by the Indian tribes, now broke out; and the terrible conflict deluging Europe with blood, began to ſhed its baneful influence over our happy land. To the firſt outſtretching his invincible arm, under the orders of the gallant Wayne, the American Eagle ſoared triumphant through diſtant foreſts. Peace followed victory, and the melioration of the condition of the enemy followed peace. Godlike virtue, which uplifts even the ſubdued ſavage!

To the ſecond he oppoſed himſelf. New and delicate was the conjuncture, and great was the ſtake. Soon did his penetrating mind diſcern and ſeize the only courſe, continuing to us all, the bleſſings enjoyed. He iſſued his proclamation of neutrality. This index to his whole ſubſequent conduct, was ſanctioned by the ap-

probation of both houſes of Congreſs, and by the approving voice of the people.

To this ſublime policy he inviolably adhered, unmoved by foreign intruſion, unſhaken by domeſtic turbulence.

" Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum,
" Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
" Non vultus inſtantis tyranni
" Mente quatit ſolida.

MAINTAINING his pacific ſyſtem at the expence of no duty, America faithful to herſelf and unſtained in her honor, continued to enjoy the delights of peace, while afflicted Europe mourns in every quarter under the accumulated miſeries of an unexampled war; miſeries in which our happy country muſt have ſhared, had not our pre-eminent WASHINGTON been as firm in council as he was brave in the field.

PURSUING ſtedfaſtly his courſe he held ſafe the public happineſs, preventing foreign war, and quelling internal diſorder, till the revolving period of a third

election approached, when he executed his interrupted but inextinguiſhable deſire of returning to the humble walks of private life.

THE promulgation of his fixed reſolution, ſtopped the anxious wiſhes of an affectionate people from adding a third unanimous teſtimonial of their unabated confidence in the man ſo long enthroned in their hearts. When, before, was affection like this exhibited on earth?—Turn over the records of ancient Greece—Review the annals of mighty Rome—examine the volumes of modern Europe: you ſearch in vain. America and her WASHINGTON only afford the dignified exemplification.

THE illuſtrious perſonage called by the national voice in ſucceſſion to the arduous office of guiding a free people, had new difficulties to encounter; the amicable effort of ſettling our difficulties with France, begun by WASHINGTON, and purſued by his ſucceſſor in virtue as in ſtation, proving abortive, America took meaſures of

ſelf-defence. No ſooner was the public mind roufed by a proſpect of danger, than every eye was turned to the friend of all, though ſecluded from public view, and grey in public ſervice; the virtuous veteran following his plough,† received the unexpected ſummons with mingled emotions of indignation, at the unmerited ill-treatment of his country, and of a determination once more to riſk his all in her defence.

THE annunciation of theſe feelings, in his affecting letter to the Preſident, accepting the command of the army, concludes his official conduct.

FIRST in war—firſt in peace—and firſt in the hearts of his countrymen, he was ſecond to none in the humble and endearing ſcenes of private life; pious, juſt, humane, temperate and ſincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding, his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example laſting.

† GENERAL WASHINGTON, though opulent, gave much of his time and attention to practical agriculture.

To his equals he was condeſcending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections, exemplarily tender; correct throughout, vice ſhuddered in his preſence, and virtue always felt his foſtering hand; the purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

His laſt ſcene comported with the whole tenor of his life—Although in extreme pain, not a ſigh, not a groan eſcaped him; and with undiſturbed ſerenity he cloſed his well ſpent life. Such was the man America has loſt—Such was the man for whom our nation mourns.

Methinks I ſee his auguſt image, and hear falling from his venerable lips theſe deep ſinking words:

"Cease, Sons of America, lamenting our ſeparation: Go on, and confirm by your wiſdom the fruits of our joint councils, joint efforts, and common dangers: reverence religion; diffuſe knowledge throughout your land; patronize the Arts and ſciences; let Liberty and Order be inſeparable companions. Controul party ſpirit, the bane of free Government; ob-

ſerve good faith to, and cultivate peace with all nations; ſhut up every avenue to foreign influence; contract rather than extend national connection; rely on yourſelves only: Be Americans in thought, word, and deed—Thus will you give immortality to that union, which was the conſtant object of my terreſtrial labors; thus will you preſerve undiſturbed to the lateſt poſterity, the felicity of a people to me moſt dear; and thus will you ſupply (if my happineſs is now aught to you) the only vacancy in the round of pure bliſs high Heaven beſtows."

EULOGY,

ON THE LIFE OF GENERAL *GEORGE WASHINGTON*, DELIVERED AT NEWBURYPORT, 2d. JANUARY, 1800.

BY *THOMAS PAINE*, A. M.

AMERICANS.

THE Saviour of your country has obtained his laſt victory. Having reached the ſummit of human perfection, he has quitted the region of human glory. *Conqueror of Time*, he has triumphed over mortality; *Legate of Heaven*, he has returned with the tidings of his miſſion; *Father of his People*, he has aſcended to advocate their cauſe in the boſom of his God. Solemn, "as it were a pauſe in nature," was his tranſit to eternity;—thronged by the ſhades of heroes, his approach to the confines of bliſs;—pæaned by the ſong of angels, his journey beyond the ſtars!

THE voice of a grateful and afflicted people has pronounced the eulogium of their departed hero—"*First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen.*" That this exalted tribute is juſtly due to his memory, the ſcar-honored veteran, who has fought under the banners of his glory, the enraptured ſtateſman, who has bowed to the dominion of his eloquence, the hardy cultivator, whoſe ſoil has been defended by the prodigies of his valor, the protected citizen, whoſe peaceful rights have been ſecured by the vigilance of his wiſdom; yea, every fibre, that can vibrate in the heart of an American, will atteſt with agonized ſenſibility.

BORN to direct the deſtiny of empires, his character was as majeſtic, as the events, to which it was attached, were illuſtrious. In the delineation of its features, the vivid pencil of Genius cannot brighten a trait, nor the blighting breath of Calumny obſcure. His principles were the reſult of organic philoſophy, his ſucceſs of moral juſtice. His integrity aſſumed the port of command, his intelligence the aſpect of inſpiration. Glory, to *many* im-

pregnable, he obtained without ambition; —popularity, to *all* inconſtant, he enjoyed without jealouſy. The one was his from admiration, the other from gratitude. The former embelliſhed, but could not reward; the latter followed, but never could lead him. The robuſt vigor of his virtue, like the undazzled eye of the Eagle, was inacceſſible to human weakneſs; and the unaſpiring temperament of his paſſions, like the regenerating aſhes of the Phœnix, gave new life to the greatneſs it could not extinguiſh. In the imperial dignity of his perſon, was exhibited the auguſt ſtature of his mind:

"See what a grace was ſeated on his brow,
"An eye like Mars, the front of Jove himſelf,
"A combination, and a form indeed,
"Where every God did ſeem to ſet his ſeal,
"To give the world aſſurance of a man!"*

OPPRESSED by the diſconſolate ſenſibilities, which this melancholy occaſion has excited, yet inſpired by a veneration, which no ſenſe of calamity can ſuſpend, how ſhall the feeble eulogiſt of the mo-

* Shakeſpear.

ment retrace the path of the Hero through the rugged acclivities of his fame—how ſhadow the outlines of a life, whoſe influence on ſociety has baffled the imitation of the wiſe—how define the great proportions of a character, which, like the electric principle, can only be deſcribed by its effects? What wing of human deſcription ſhall ſoar to the unclouded height of his talents—what chemiſtry of human judgment ſhall ſeparate the elements of his virtues?—The magnificence of his deeds has outvied the heraldry of fancy—and the purity of his motives has bewildered the deductions of reaſon.

FROM his firſt appearance on the theatre of public life, ere the modeſt ſimplicity of enterprize had invited the decorations of artificial honor, ere the "hair-breadth eſcapes" of the *Monongahela* had elicited the native energies of heroiſm, to the matureſt era of his excellence, when victory had nothing left to beſtow, and Fame herſelf had deſpaired of rendering to his merits their equivalent reward, we behold the ſame undeviating courſe of magnanimous action, riſing, like the ſun, in

gradual and majeſtic progreſſion. In no ſituation, to which the emergencies of his country have called him, however inſulated with peril, or fortified by proſperity, do we at any time detect his invincible equanimity, modified by incident. In no climax of fortune, do we behold him, dejected by obſtacle, or elevated by ſucceſs;—deſperate in danger, or ſanguine in triumph. Deliberate to concert, he was vigorous to execute;—intrepid to conquer, he was humane to forgive. In council, he united the calculations of the veteran, to the ruling impulſe of the patriot:—In battle, he never ſhed the blood of an enemy but for victory, nor gained a victory but for his country.

As the director of that important and dubious conteſt, which iſſued in the eſtabliſhment of our liberty and Independence, he diſplayed an impreſſive grandeur of exertion, which marſhalled into hoſtility the fluctuating vigor of his countrymen, and is ſtill remembered with awe in the aſtoniſhment of nations. To the rapacious cabinet of the mother country, which had recently learnt, in the diſaſtrous campaign of

Braddock, that her glory was mortal, he had given his name a formidable eſtimation by his military proweſs on that memorable occaſion. In the enjoyment of an ample paternal domain, he was repoſing under the groves of Fame and Philoſophy, when the chafed lion of New-England "leaped on the daring huntſman, that had galled him," and boldly bade defiance to his power. The dawn of our revolution was overſhadowed with clouds, that would have damped the ardor of any people, whoſe boſoms were not inſpired by the incontrolable enthuſiaſm of liberty. But what hope of ſucceſs could this high-born principle, though ſtimulated by injury, afford to the unwarlike peaſantry of a country, without arms, without diſcipline, without funds, without a leader, in contending with an empire, whoſe policy and valor had for centuries kept the nations of Europe in its toils? Yet, at this inauſpicious juncture, when every proſpect was enveloped with diſaſter, when unſucceſsful oppoſition could promiſe no reward but aggravated oppreſſion, when political infidelity had almoſt chilled with diſmay the kindling fervor of Americans;—at this mo-

ment, ſo portentous, ſo gloomy, did the calm, inflexible, unaſſimilating WASHINGTON, relinquiſh without reluctance the magnificent retirement of wealth and honor; and, committing to the hazard of the conteſt, the pleaſures that allured him to ſecluſion, and the character that attached him to life, appealed to the God of armies to atteſt a ſoldier's oath—"*I will triumph, or die with my countrymen!*"—— Animated by his guiding intelligence, America awoke to the conſciouſneſs of her powers; and, realiſing the boaſt of the Roman hero, an army, organized by his creative diſcipline, aroſe at his command.

THROUGH the viciſſitudes of a war, ſingularly fluctuating in its fortunes, and deſolating in its effects, he diſcovered a conſtant principle of action, which acquired no luſtre from the brilliant exploits it achieved, but derived all its glory from its own original greatneſs. Self-dependent, and ſelf-elevated, it diſdained the fictitious aid of circumſtance; and never did it ſhine with more ſplendor and energy, than when fortune had deſerted him, and his country had deſpaired. The activity of a fortitude,

whoſe ſtability was reaſon, invigorated the operations of an intellect, whoſe object was liberty. What but this invincible conſtitution of ſoul, whoſe gigantic philoſophy always roſe with the difficulties it encountered, could have ſuſtained the drooping cauſe of an half-conquered people, at that momentous and almoſt hopeleſs criſis, when the banks of the Delaware were lined by a triumphant enemy, impatient for our ſubjugation; when the ranks of our brave defenders, thinned by battle, by famine and retreat, crimſoned their flying encampments with the blood of their footſteps; when the fate of a continent was ſuſpended on the incredible exertions of a night, and a conſpiracy of the elements oppoſed the progreſs of the eventful enterprize! The mind, that was inacceſſible to deſpair, was invulnerable to diſaſter; and at the inſtant, when the fangs of our Invader were unclutched to faſten on his prey, when his pampered ambition was gloating on the ſpoils of unconditional ſubmiſſion, the diſtant thunder of the cannon at *Trenton* arouſed him from his dreams of dominion, and convinced him that the reſources of a WASHINGTON were not

to be computed by the extent of his entrenchments, nor his activity to be palſied by a campaign of diſaſters.

To the pen of the hiſtorian muſt be reſigned the more arduous and elaborate tribute of juſtice to thoſe efforts of heroic and political virtue, which conducted the American people to peace and liberty.—The vanquiſhed foe retired from our reſpiring ſhores, and left to the *Controling Genius*, who repelled them, the gratitude of his own country, and the admiration of the world. The time had now arrived, which was to apply the touchſtone to his integrity—which was to aſſay the affinity of his principles to the ſtandard of immutable right. Enjoying the unbounded confidence of an emancipated people, whoſe filial reverence had aſſociated in his character, a greatneſs, unexampled by patriotiſm, with a purity, unſunned by ſuſpicion—and commanding the implicit affections of an army of veterans, whoſe unliquidated demands, on the juſtice of an impoveriſhed public, might have rendered them zealous inſtruments of ambition—the deliverer of his country was now the arbi-

ter of its fate. It was now the flood-tide of his glory, on which he had only to embark, and the current would have wafted him to his haven. That decisive moment in the existence of nations and men, on which the destinies of both are suspended, was now flitting on the dial's point of the crisis.—On the one hand, a realm, to which he was endeared by his services, almost invited him to empire: On the other, the liberty, to whose protection his life had been devoted, was the ornament and boon of human nature.——WASHINGTON could not depart from his own great self. His country was free;—he was no longer a General! Sublime spectacle! more elevating to the pride of virtue, than the sovereignty of the globe united to the sceptre of ages! Enthroned in the hearts of his countrymen, the gorgeous pageantry of prerogative was unworthy the majesty of his dominion. That effulgence of militiary character, which in ancient states has blasted the rights of the people, whose renown it had brightened, was not *here* permitted, by the hero, from whom it emanated, to shine with so destructive a lustre. Its beams, though intensely resplendent, did

not wither the young bloſſoms of our Independence; and liberty, like the *burning buſh*, flouriſhed unconſumed by the glory which ſurrounded it.

To the illuſtrious founder of our republic was it reſerved, to exhibit the example of a magnanimity, that commanded victory—of a moderation, that retired from triumph. Unlike the erratic meteors of ambition, whoſe flaming path ſheds a diſaſtrous light on the pages of hiſtory, his bright orb, eclipſing the luminaries, among which it rolled, never portended "fearful change" to religion, nor from its "golden treſſes" ſhook peſtilence on empire. What to *other* heroes has been glory, would to *him* have been diſgrace. To *his* intrepidity it would have added no honorary trophy, to have waded, like the conqueror of *Peru*, through the blood of credulous millions, to plant the ſtandard of triumph at the burning mouth of a volcano! To *his* fame it would have erected no auxiliary monument, to have invaded, like the ravager of *Egypt*, an innocent, though barbarous nation, to inſcribe his name on the pillar of *Pompey!*

SELF, the grand hinge, on which revolve the principles and paſſions, that have ſwelled the obituary of nations, made not an unit in the calculations of a mind, which conſidered grandeur as the inſeparable incident of rectitude;—which owed to fortune nothing of its glory, to enthuſiaſm nothing of its virtue. From "heaven's high chancery" had iſſued his commiſſion;—he obeyed the godlike precept it contained;—he created a nation! The glorious work completed, ſo was his ambition. The reward of his labors was the enjoyment of that liberty he had protected from violation; and the boaſt of his pride was the cultivation of that ſoil he had defended from ſubjection. Amid the fondeſt careſſes of fame, that purſued him to retirement——bluſh ye heroic murderers of mankind!—never did the tranſcendent WASHINGTON, on the pinnacle of his greatneſs, deign to be conſcious, that by *his* talents his country was free—that in *her* glory himſelf was immortal!

PUBLIC opinion has in all ages been as volatile as the air, that wafts it;—and the fate, which has attended the benefactors of

their country, has been as chequered as the paſſions, and perverſe as the ingratitude of man. A tyrant, ſainted by the people he had enſlaved, has been elevated to a niche in the Pantheon; while a hero, whoſe talents and ſervices had propped a falling empire, has found at laſt a more faithful friend in the maſtiff that conducted him, than in the nation he had protected. But it has been the peculiar lot of a WASHINGTON, to unite to an integrity, which could impeach the ambition of malice, the vigilance of an enterpriſe, which could arreſt the deciſions of fortune. Through the long labors of a life, which forms an epoch in hiſtory, never for a moment was he rivalled in the affections of his countrymen; and to the honor of Americans, be it recorded, that their gratitude to the man, who had eſtabliſhed their Independence, exiſted, at the period of impending anarchy, the only cementing bond of union, which preſerved their jarring intereſts from a deſtructive colliſion.

The temporary ſtructure of the old confederation, which had been planned merely for the purpoſes of a revolutionary

government, when the paſſions of the people were united, was found, upon a brief experiment, to be totally incompetent to direct the affairs of an extending nation, when peace had reſtored the complicated occupations of life, and demanded a more uniform protection from the energies of law. The inconveniences, reſulting from its defects, had given occaſion to deſigning demagogues, who hoped to profit by a ſeparation of the States, to foment diviſions among a people, who too lightly valued the bleſſings they enjoyed. The union of the country was in danger; and the evil was of too baneful a nature to admit of a partial or dilatory remedy. But, how novel, how aſpiring, was the hope of connecting, under one compact code of general juriſprudence, ſo many diſtinct ſovereignties, each jealous of its independence, without impairing their reſpective authorities! The unbalanced bodies of the confederacy had almoſt overcome the attracting power, that reſtrained them; when the watchful guardian of his country's intereſts, the heart-uniting WASHINGTON appeared, the political magnet in the center of diſcord, and reconciled and conſolidated the claſh-

ing particles of the ſyſtem in an indiſſoluble union of government.

Possessing, as well from experience, as intuition, the maſter ſcience, that could direct the impulſes of human action;—and inveſted, by the crowded benefactions of a life of glory, with a charm of eloquence, which impreſſed the convictions of reaſon on the pliant gratitude of his countrymen;—he ruled in the councils of that auguſt body of ſtateſmen and patriots, the fruit of whoſe co-operating talents was the preſent Conſtitution of America. By the unanimous ſuffrage of an enlightned and confiding people, appointed to the adminiſtration of a government, in whoſe conſtruction he had exerted ſo beneficial an influence, he brought, to the execution of that important and arduous truſt, the energy of a mind, whoſe elevation could borrow no dignity from ſtation, and the integrity of a heart, whoſe ſenſibility could receive no bias but from his country. With what wiſdom and vigor he diſcharged the hazardous and thronging duties of an incipient magiſtracy, the revival of political harmony, the extended confidence of commerce, the unexampled increaſe of national credit

and wealth, and the happineſs and morality of the people, will furniſh a more ſatisfactory evidence, than the moſt brilliant deſcription of the panegyriſt. In this unprecedented tranſition of office, his character had aſſumed a new and aſtoniſhing attitude ;—the impenetrable hardihood of the conqueror was rivalled by the intelligent policy of the ſtateſman. Pierced by the glance of his adminiſtration, *Party*, like the recreant eye of the felon, ſhrunk abaſhed from his ſcrutiny ;—and unnerved by the ſanctity of his perſon, *Degeneracy*, like the viper at *Milita*, fell harmleſs from his hand.—Appalled by the oppreſſive contemplation of his greatneſs, the "cloud-capt" creſt of *Ambition* was overawed by the majeſty of virtue ;—and, maddened to deſperation by the invulnerable purity of his life, the ſnakes of *Envy* recoiled upon the head of their miſtreſs, and burrowed to the brain, that ſupplied their venom.

EXEMPLAR *of Heroes* ! in what favored nation, or era, ſhall the exulting philanthropiſt record the exiſtence of a character, uniting, like thine, in one bright conſtellation of talents, every civic and military glory, that blazons in legend, or

beams in hiſtory?—Should we ſearch in the archives of claſſic antiquity, we might find a wiſe and venerable *Fabius*, who, like thee, could "ſave a nation by delay;"—but never, like thee, could ſeize victory by enterprize, and outſtride fortune by the foreſight of philoſophy!—We might behold the majeſtic *Cincinnatus*, who, like thee, in the vigor of Roman heroiſm, could return from the conqueſt of his country's enemies, to his humble *Mount Vernon* beyond the *Tyber*;—but never, like thee, to protect from faction the liberties he had wreſted from invaſion! We might trace the great *Julius*, extending the terror of his eagles, through realms, before unſhadowed by their pinions;—we might follow him to the forum, and liſten to an eloquence, like thine, when applauding ſenates inſtinctly moved at his control;—but *where*, in the map of *thy* victories, ſhall we find the banks of a *Rubicon!*

ENCUMBERED with honors, the father of his country once more returned to the unambitious abodes of his affection, followed by the tears & bleſſings of his fellow-citizens! The glory, which had encircled the

ſcenes of his action, could not be excluded by the ſolitude of retirement. He had diveſted the inſignia of command, but his empire was not diminiſhed. He had ſurrendered the badges of fame—but the gaze of the world did not ſuſpend its veneration. The *name* of WASHINGTON was ſtill a battlement to his country, under whoſe protection liberty exulted, at whoſe terrors hoſtility trembled.

THOUGH remote from the cauſes of European conteſt, yet affected by the convulſions it excited, in vain had our Nation attempted to maintain with honor an unprotected neutrality. Piracy plundered the ocean; Invaſion threatened our ſhores.—Again, were the eyes of America directed with trembling ſolicitude to her venerable deliverer; and, *again* did this *Man without example, this Patriot without reproach*, whoſe life was his country, whoſe glory was mankind, reſign with alacrity, to the cauſe he had ſworn to defend, the tranquil hope of repoſe, to which he had devoted the unclouded evening of a life of toils!—The character was perfect! WASHINGTON now touched "the higheſt point of all his

greatneſs." A more than human ſplendor ſurrounded him. The etherial ſpirit of his virtues towered above the globe they adorned, and ſeemed to meditate their departure to their native manſion. Of the frailty of man, nothing now remained but his mortality; and, having accompliſhed the embaſſy of a benevolent Providence—having been the founder of one Nation, and the ſublime inſtructor of all—*He took his flight to Heaven;* not like *Mahomet*, for his memory is immortal without the fiction of a miracle; not like *Elijah*, for recording Time has not regiſtered the man, *on whom his mantle ſhould deſcend;* but in humble imitation of that *Omnipotent Architect*, who returned from a created univerſe, to contemplate from his throne the ſtupendous fabric he had erected!

THE auguſt form, whoſe undaunted majeſty could arreſt the lightening, ere it fell on the boſom of his country, now ſleeps in ſilent ruin, untenanted of its celeſtial eſſence. But the incorruptible example of his virtues ſhall ſurvive, unimpaired by the corroſion of time; and acquire new vigor and influence, from the crimes of ambition, and the decay of empires.

The invaluable valediction, bequeathed to the people, who inherited his affections, is the effort of a mind, whoſe powers, like thoſe of prophecy, could overleap the tardy progreſs of human reaſon, and unfold truth without the labor of inveſtigation. Impreſſed in indelible characters, this *Legacy of his Intelligence* will deſcend, unſullied as its purity, to the wonder and inſtruction of ſucceeding generations; and, ſhould the mild philoſophy of its maxims be ingrafted into the policy of nations, at no diſtant period will the departed hero, who now lives only in the ſpotleſs ſplendor of his own great actions, exiſt in the happineſs and dignity of mankind.

The ſighs of cotemporary gratitude have attended the *Sublime Spirit* to its paternal abode; and the prayers of ameliorated poſterity will aſcend in glowing remembrance of their illuſtrious benefactor! The laurels, that now droop, as they ſhadow his tomb with monumental glory, will be cultivated by the tears of ages; and, embalmed in the heart of an admiring world, the temple, erected to his memory, will be more glorious than the *pyramids*, and as eternal as his own imperiſhable virtues!

EULOGY,

ON *GEORGE WASHINGTON*, DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON, JANUARY 9th, 1800.

BY *GEORGE R. MINOT*, A. M. A. A. S.

OUR duty, my Fellow-Townſmen, on this diſtreſſing occaſion, is dictated by the dignity and reſplendent virtue of the beloved Man whoſe death we deplore. We aſſemble to pay a debt to departed merit, a debt which we can only pay by the ſincerity of our grief, and the reſpectful effuſions of gratitude; for the higheſt eulogy left us to beſtow upon our lamented WASHINGTON, is the ſtrict narration of the truth; and the loftieſt character which we can aſſign to him, is the very

diſplay of himſelf. When ambition allies itſelf to guilt, when power tramples upon right, when victory triumphs in blood, when piety ſits clouded in ſuperſtition, when humility is affected by cunning, when patriotiſm is founded on ſelfiſhneſs; then let adulation ſpread her proſtituted mantle, to ſcreen the diſgraces of her patrons, and amuſe with the falſehoods of her imagination. But to our political Father, the faithful page of hiſtory is panegyric, and the happineſs of his country is the monument of his fame.

COME, then, Warriors! Stateſmen! Philoſophers! Citizens! aſſemble round the tomb of this favorite ſon of virtue; with all the luxury of ſorrow recollect the important events of his life, and partake of the greateſt legacy which a mortal could bequeath you, in the contemplation of his example. Whilſt we ſolemnize this act, his diſembodied ſpirit, if it be permitted to retrace the ſcenes of its terreſtrial exiſtence, will ſmile with approbation on the inſtructive rite.

YOUR anniverſaries have long honored the eleventh of February,* one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-two, as the birth-day of our illuſtrious Chief, and the pariſh of his own name in Weſtmoreland county, in Virginia, boaſts itſelf the place of his nativity. But to ſouls like his, local reſtrictions are not attached. Where Liberty was, there would be his country: Happy for us, the Genius of Liberty, reſponſive to his affections, reſolved that where WASHINGTON was, there alſo ſhould be her abode.

EDUCATED by private inſtruction, his virtue grew with his knowledge, and the uſeful branches of literature occupied the whole powers of his mind. Exemplary for ſolidity of thought, and chaſtity of morals, he was honored by the government of Virginia, with an important miſſion, at an age when the levities of the human character ſeldom yield to the earlieſt operation of reaſon.

AT the opening of the great war of encroachments upon our weſtern frontiers, he was the bearer of the remonſtrance to

* OLD Style.

the French. Such was the addreſs, fidelity and perſeverance with which he executed this important truſt, that he was honored at twenty-two years of age with the command of a regiment raiſed by his province. His military talents were ſoon called to the teſt. At Redſtone, Victory perched upon his ſtandard; but, with that volatility by which ſhe tries the powers of her favorite heroes, ſhe in a few months afterwards left him, by his own exertions, to ſave the honors of war for his little band, in an unequal, but well ſupported battle. In *Braddock's* ſlaughtered army, he was a witneſs to ſcenes of horror, which his caution, had it been adopted, would have prevented, and which his ſteady courage aſſiſted much to retrieve. During the remainder of this war, he was employed in fortifying his native province, in arranging and perfecting its militia, and in checking the incurſions of the enemy, until the criſis of the conteſt had paſſed in this country, when he reſigned his command.

RETIREMENT to him was only a different mode of action, and his repoſe partook not of indolence. Amidſt the hon-

orable purſuits of agriculture, he diſcharged various civil offices, until we find him riſing amongſt the patriots of our country, as a delegate from Virginia, in the firſt American Congreſs.

We ſhall ever remember the fifteenth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, when Providence directed to his appointment as the Commander in Chief of our revolutionary army. In this neighborhood he firſt drew his ſword. Many of you, my Fellow-Townſmen, were then languiſhing under the fetters of tyranny, or were impriſoned within the joyleſs confines of your own habitations. Your hope was fixed on him. His command, independent of the reſources of his own mind, afforded no ground for the ſupport of your feelings. He had an army brave indeed, but with little diſcipline; naked at the approach of winter; and almoſt ſubject to diſſolution from temporary enliſtments; a pay-maſter without money; a commiſſary ſtruggling on the utmoſt ſtretch of credit. A veteran army lay under his eye ſtrongly fortified, regularly paid, warmly clothed,

and boaſting its ſuperiority to militia. Yet did his victorious ſword relieve you, and ſave your city. Juſtly have you aſcribed "your reinſtatement to his wiſe arrangements, which compelled your invaders to adopt a leſs deſtructive policy than that which on other occaſions they ſo wantonly practiſed." Could our gratitude forget it, the heights around us bear the triumphant evidence of his conqueſt.

To trace this protector of our liberties through his unrivalled career, from his gloomy retreat through the Jerſies to his ſeveral victories and his ſplendid triumph at York-Town, would be to narrate the varying hiſtory of our Revolution. To him, public labor was amuſement, ſuffering in the cauſe of freedom was a luxury, and every hour as it flew carried an offering to his country.

As obedience to the voice of his oppreſſed fellow-citizens drew his ſword on the approach of war, ſo at the declaration of peace, by the ſame reſpected voice he reſtored it to its ſcabbard. He left them his bleſſing and their liberties. O Human

Nature, how haſt thou been traduced! With thee, has it been ſaid, is eſſentially connected that luſt of power which is inſatiable; which reſtores not voluntarily what has been committed to its charge; which devours all rights, and reſolves all laws into its own authority; which labors not for others, but ſeizes the fruits of their labors for itſelf; which breaks down all barriers of religion, ſociety and nature that obſtruct its courſe; now art thou vindicated! Here we behold thee allied to virtue, worn in the ſervice of mankind, ſuperior to the meanneſs of compenſation, humbly hoping for the thanks of thy country alone, faithfully ſurrendering the ſword, with which thou waſt entruſted, and yielding up power with a promptneſs and facility equalled only by the diffidence and reluctance with which thou receivedſt it.

Now will the future inquirer ſay, this Hero has finiſhed the taſk aſſigned him, the meaſure of his glory is full. A world is admitted to freedom—a Nation is born. Favored beyond the leader of Iſrael, not only with the proſpect, but with the fruition of the promiſed bleſſing, he has retired

like that prince of meekneſs, to the *Mount*, whence he is to aſcend, unſeen by a weeping people, to the reward of all his labors. No, he is to live another life upon this globe; he is to reap a double harveſt in the field of perennial honor. The people whom he has ſaved from external tyranny, ſuffer from the agitations of their own unſettled powers. The tree of Liberty which he has planted, and ſo carefully guarded from the ſtorms, now flouriſhes beyond its ſtrength; its lofty excreſcences threaten to tear its leſs extended roots from the earth, and to proſtrate it fruitleſs on the plain. But, he comes! In Convention he preſides over councils, as in war he had led the battle. The Conſtitution, like the rainbow after the flood, appears to us, now juſt emerging from an overwhelming commotion; and we know the truth of the pledge from the ſanction of his name.

THE production was worthy of its authors, and of the magnanimous people whom it was intended to eſtabliſh. You adopt it, you cheriſh it, and you reſolve to tranſmit it, with the name of WASHING-

TON, to the lateſt generation, who ſhall prove their juſt claim to ſuch an illuſtrious deſcent.

WHO was ſo worthy, as our great Legiſlator, to direct the operations of a Government which his councils and his ſword had labored to erect? By a unanimous ſuffrage he was invited to the exalted ſtation of Preſident of the United States. The call was too ſacred to admit of doubt: It ſuperceded the happineſs of retirement, the demands of private intereſt, the ſweet attractions of domeſtic ſociety, and the hazard (forgive it WASHINGTON! for thou waſt mortal) the hazard of public reputation. Behold the man on this occaſion ſo mighty in the eye of all the world, ſo humble in his own! He accepts the high appointment with ſuch diſtruſt of his natural endowments, with ſuch diffidence in his capacity, as can be relieved only by his reliance on that Almighty BEING, "who rules over the Univerſe, who preſides in the councils of nations, and whoſe providential aids can ſupply every human defect."

ONE of the earlieſt acts of his adminiſtration was that circular viſit to transfuſe his love, and receive the grateful benedictions of his loving countrymen, in which you, my Fellow Townſmen, partook ſo liberal a ſhare. What ſenſations ruſhed upon your minds, when you compared the dreadful aſpect of your beſieged city, with its now ſmiling condition. The well-cultivated fields were ſcreening from view the late terrific ramparts of the enemy, and the groans of the diſtreſſed had yielded to the buſy noiſe of commerce and pleaſure. How grateful now is the recollection, that with tears of joy you crowded to meet him in your ſtreets, diſplaying the very inſignia which you this day bear in mournful proceſſion; and your children, bowing their heads with eager ſolicitude to attract his fatherly eye, received his pious bleſſing.

DID the occaſion admit of it, how pleaſing would be the review of his adminiſtration, as our Supreme Executive Magiſtrate! His talents and his virtues increaſed with his cares. His ſoul ſeemed not to bear the limits of office, a moment after the obligations of duty and patriotiſm

withdrew their reſtraints from his univerſal love. When the miſguided ſavages of the wilderneſs, after feeling his chaſtiſement, had ſued for peace, he ſeemed to labor for their happineſs as the common Repreſentative of mankind. Inſurrection was ſo ſtruck at his countenance, that it fled from the ſhock of his arms. Intrigue attempted to entangle him in her poiſonous web, but he burſt it with gigantic ſtrength, and cruſhed her labors. Anarchy looked out from her cavern, and was daſhed into oblivion as we truſt, forever. The nations of Europe ſaw the wiſdom of our laws, the vigor of our meaſures, the juſtice of our policy, the firmneſs of our government, and acquieſced in the neutrality of our ſtation.

THE dangers of the Commonwealth having ſubſided at the cloſe of his ſecond adminiſtration, he felt himſelf juſtified, after dedicating forty-five years of his valuable life to her ſervice, in withdrawing to receive with reſignation the great change of nature, which his age and his toils demonſtrated to be near. When he declined your future ſuffrages, he left you a legacy.

What! like Ceſar's to the Romans, money for your ſports? Like Attalus's, a kingdom for your tyranny? No; he left you not ſuch baubles, nor for ſuch purpoſes. He left you the records of wiſdom for your government: a mirror for the faithful repreſentation to your own view, of yourſelves, your weakneſſes, your advantages, your dangers: a magnet which points to the ſecret mines and windings of party ſpirit, faction, Foreign influence: a pillar to the unity of your Republic: a band to incloſe, conciliate, and ſtrengthen the whole of your wonderful and almoſt boundleſs communities. Read, preſerve the ſacred depoſit; and leſt poſterity ſhould forget the truth of its maxims, engrave them on his tomb, that they may read them when they weep before it.

In his ſecond reſignation of power and the charms of office, the American Leader appears ſuperior to ancient or modern examples. Yet another grade was aſſigned to his virtue. Our national rights, ſo well defended at home, were invaded on the ocean. The alarm reaches his retreat; the honor of our Republic warms his

heart ; and he again accepts the ſword for its defence from the hand of another, placed by the voice of the people in that Supreme Magiſtracy, which he alone had heretofore filled. With a leſs dignified ſoul, this official inferiority might have availed to injure his country ; but he who could deſcend from the head of a nation, to diſcharge the minuteſt duties of a private citizen, was too great to allow the influence of etiquette to endanger the ſafety of the people. His condeſcenſion raiſes him above himſelf ; his ſpirit fires all ranks of men ; he is overwhelmed with the gratitude and applauſe of an enraptured nation.

WHILST we confide in his arm, and are marſhalling our warriors to march under his banners, the GOD of armies, whoſe counſels are beyond the ſcrutiny of man, prepares for us the teſt of our ſubmiſſion to his chaſtiſing rod. It is decreed that our WASHINGTON ſhall die, but that his death ſhall be worthy of his life. He is to die by the hand of Virtue. The rapid diſeaſe which is ſelected as the inſtrument of his diſſolution, inſtantaneouſly ſeizes him.

His humanity delays the immediate aid to which alone it may yield. Inconſolable Domeſtics! what ſtorms would you not have braved, what hazards would you not have encountered, to ſave that life which was ſacrificed to your comfort and ſafety! At length Science flies to ſave him. Alas! what avails its ſkill againſt the mandate of Heaven? It comes too late!—It is finiſhed.

WONDERFUL event! Greatneſs departs in glory, and envy is ſilent! All acknowledge him to be the firſt of citizens, and none feel hurt by his ſuperiority. So impartial was he, that none impeach his juſtice; ſo moderate, none complain of his power; ſo magnanimous, his conquered enemies applaud his humanity; ſo philanthropic, that neither colour, nor climate, nor religion, nor politics could exclude the unfortunate from his ſuccor. He had the habit of combining ſentiment with action in ſuch method and force, that he ſhed his benevolence on communities of men with the ſame eaſe as the ſudden impulſe of momentary ſenſibility beſtows it upon individuals. Unexampled virtue! allotted to its merited reward. Many founders of nations have

been left to obtain from poſterity that reputation which prejudice or bigotry has denied at their deaths. The tomb has been neceſſary to bury anger, petty intereſts and emulation, which barred an equitable judgment. But in regard to this Sage, the gratitude of his country has been co-exiſtent with his exertions. Time has not been required to remove him from our view, in order to magnify his exploits through the medium of fame; nor was it requiſite that we ſhould be deprived of the good he had done us, to entertain a juſt ſenſe of its importance. Medals and ſtatues have been decreed him when living, and your tears announce his greater triumph in your hearts, when dead. Diſintereſted love! What motives have you, freemen, for thus offering up your applauſe? He has now no ſhield to defend you from the invaſions of your enemies; his head lies cold in the grave, and no counſel can ariſe from his lips. His eyes were cloſed by his own unſhaken hand, and no ſmile can now beam from his countenance to animate your troops. Grateful Republicans! indeed you weep not from ſelfiſhneſs. Afflicted with

the thought of the bleſſings which he has ſhowered upon yourſelves and your children, you would call him, could your voice be heard, from the cloſed manſions of the dead, again to receive the tribute of your affection. You weep for her, whoſe tender participation in the anxieties of a huſband relieved his cares, and protracted the invaluable life which love itſelf could no longer detain. Diſconſolate woman! mourn not; for the faithful is gone to receive the reward of his uprightneſs. The whole deſire of his heart, the whole purſuit of his labors has been the good of his fellowmen. Contraſt him with thoſe who have been raiſed by the empty, the criminal admiration of mankind, to the higheſt ranks in the Pantheon of fame. See one inſtead of liberating and protecting, employed in conquering and enſlaving a world, and weeping that his guilty taſk could be continued no longer. Another retiring from the purple, not with the united bleſſings of all religious ſects, but the bigoted perſecutor of the only rational and divine religion: See the maſter of ſo many crowns, after yielding them up for a convent, inſtead of

intereſting himſelf in the welfare of mankind to the hour of his departure, relapſing into the abſurdities of monkiſh ſuperſtition: and another, whoſe aſhes are ſcarcely cold, ſlaughtering the armies of half the nations of Europe, to extend the limits of an Electorate, with as much zeal as our departed Hero labored to extend the limits of freedom, civilization and morals. When ſo much worth ſteps off from the ſtage of life, the weakneſs of our nature is the only apology for our tears. Such an exit is not death, it is the triumph of the juſt.

Sons of Freedom! as you regard the memory of your aſcended Chief, attend to the injunctions of his will. Remember that it was not for you alone he labored. It was for your poſterity alſo; it was for the human race. For you and for them he was firſt in building the nobleſt political ſyſtem that adorns the world. It is an experiment to aſcertain the nature of man; whether he be capable of freedom, or whether he muſt be led by the reins of tyranny; whether he be endowed with that moderation and underſtanding which checks the

extreme indulgence of his will; and by allowing to others the ſame rational enjoyment with himſelf, forms the liberty of the whole upon the partial reſtraint of each individual; or whether he muſt go on attempting to follow the dictates of ſelfiſhneſs, and find his only reſtraint in a power which will eſtabliſh itſelf independent of his conſent, and make him its ſlave. Who of us can be ſuppoſed to be ſo loſt to himſelf, ſo forgetful of his children, and ſo traitorous to the world, as to contemplate the overthrow of this magnificent temple of wiſdom? No, my Fellow-Townſmen, whatever zeal may ſuddenly ſuggeſt, or apprehenſions tempt us to ſuſpect, there lives not a man among us, ſo depraved, ſo curſed by Heaven. Shall it be ſaid, that the works of his hands whom we this day almoſt adore; that the hope which he held out to the nations of the earth, ſhall be fruſtrated by our diviſions? To the honor of our country, not a man but anſwers, No: All, when rightly informed, wave their particular prejudices in ſupport of the great pillar of our national union. It is our pride; it was erected by our fathers;

it is the ſtandard of our defence. Let us then, with a view of forever maintaining it, baniſh all animoſity, melt down all parties, wipe away all diſtinctions. Let us no longer deſignate men who have differed in ſentiment, by odious epithets mutually reflected and mutually diſavowed: But if a common name be wanted, let it be formed from his, whom we now ſeek to honor, and let it be uſed to denote good will to one another, reſpect to our Conſtitution, fortitude to our enemies, love to our country, devotion to our GOD.

IN the condolence of this day, we cannot fail to notice the honor which we feel by the preſence of the Fathers of the State. It was not unbecoming the dignity of office, on ſuch an occaſion, to ſuſpend its occupations and join the general ſorrow. To devote this portion of time to his memory who devoted a long life to our happineſs, is rational and juſt. Within the preſent political year, you, Honorable Magiſtrates and Legiſlators, in this place ſolemnized the obſequies of the late excellent Governor of our Commonwealth, the much reſpected SUMNER. Thus paſs away the

wife, the virtuous and the faithful; by an irrevocable decree, lefs unwelcome to them, as it refpects themfelves, than grievous to us. Their lives are long enough for their own glory, but, alas! ftill too neceffary to their country's welfare. The experience of circumftances, which are neceffary to form that effulgence of character, by which they enlighten, civilize and direct fociety, fall to the lot of few. When fuch lamps are extinguifhed, we are happy if our darknefs be tranfient. But in your wifdom the people of our Commonwealth fafely confide; nor as members of our united country, do they mourn like thofe who are without hope; for although in the prefent gloom of our political hemifphere, their late ruling planet has travelled to the morning of another clime, yet its kindred luminary rifes on the horizon, brilliant, fteady, and propitious to direct their courfe. They lament that their beloved WASHINGTON fleeps in death; their confolation is, that his faithful Brother, the vigilant ADAMS, furvives.

MASONIC EULOGY,

ON THE LIFE OF *GEORGE WASHINGTON,* PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE BRETHREN OF ST. JOHN's LODGE IN BOSTON, 4th. FEBRUARY, 5800.

BY BROTHER *GEORGE BLAKE.*

LABOR, be at reſt! *Mirth* let not thy voice be heard! *Joy*, our once ſweet viſitant, we have now no place for thee here! our Lodge has become the abode of melancholy and ſorrow:—*Grief, oh, Grief!* moſt ſincerely do we welcome thee to the hall of this fraternity; thou dull diſmal meſſenger of woe, it is thy privilege to rule our Lodge this night; from heaven's high arch, art thou commiſſioned, by the weeping genius of *Maſonry*, to take the charge of this her terreſtrial habitation.

—We acknowledge thy credentials—they are atteſted by the ſignature of Death—we bow to thy authority—we yield to thy commands.—Come, then, *Grief!* dark and gloomy Spirit; we are now thy Brothers. At this moment we are ready to induct thee to office—to inveſt thee with the black ſymbols of ſtately promotion. In the *Eaſt*, where gay light once had dominion, there ſhalt thou ſit enthroned on clouds and darkneſs:—In the *Weſt* thy faithful *Wardens* are Sadneſs and Sympathy; and as the Sun ſitteth in the *Weſt*, to cloſe the day, ſo do they ſit there to draw thy cloudy mantle over this Lodge. Dreſſed in thy moſt diſmal attire, we hail thee, *Grief*, as the maſter of this meeting;—for thy *Truncheon*, we give thee the Grave-man's *Mattock*:—on thy boſom will we faſten a beamleſs *Jewel*, that is covered by the ſable veſtment of night; for thy *Girdle*, thou ſhalt wear a *wandering moon beam*, whoſe glimmering light ſhall ſerve to make more viſible the darkneſs of thy form. The *Tomb-Stone* is thy *Truſſell Board*, and thy *Tow Line* ſhall be twiſted from the fineſt chords of *Maſon's hearts*.—Here then,

Grief, we await thy commands ; our *hearts*, and not our hands, will perform the joyleſs labors of the night. Our refreſhment ſhall be the cup of bitterneſs, and when we have drunken it to the dregs, our boſoms, with *three times three thouſand* pulſations, ſhall give the ſignal of our ſincerity and uniſon.

But whence my Brothers and wherefore is all this gloom and ſtillneſs? Why is the noiſe of the buſy hammer ſuſpended, and our ears greeted only by the ſlow beatings of kindred boſoms. Why has our noon tide *Sun* retired ſo ſoon to the dark chambers of the *Weſt?* Our Lodge, which has ſo often reſounded with the voice of induſtry and mirth, is now ſilent as the manſion of death ; thoſe dazzling luminaries, which have been wont to enlighten our labors, why are they extinguiſhed ; why do they now refuſe their accuſtomed radiance? The *Compaſs*, the *Square*, the *Level*, the *Plumb*, and all thoſe ſparkling *Jewels*, once the pride and the ornament of *Maſons*, are now concealed by a veil of blackneſs ; the cheerful ſong, which has ſo often welcomed the eve of labor, has

ceaſed to undulate—I hear nothing but the doleful melody of ſighs and groans—where I have once ſeen the ſprightly features of eaſe and contentment—where I have often beheld the expanded countenance of gladneſs and hilarity—through this dubious quivering light, I can now diſcern naught but the pale ſickly viſage of melancholy and ſorrow. Need I aſk, my Brothers, whence this awful change? Of our reſpected *Maſter* ſhall I inquire, why ſtands a tear trembling in his eye, or of you, my friends, why every breath ſeems to travel from the lungs in pain; or why this diſmal night ſhade is more ſuited to the preſent "*habit of your ſouls*," than the jocund aſpect of day?—No! my own heart, my Brothers, reſolves the myſtery———WASHINGTON! OH WASHINGTON! OUR MASTER, OUR BROTHER, OUR FATHER, OUR FRIEND, WASHINGTON IS NO MORE!——He, who was greater than *Hiram*, better and more beloved than *Solomon*; he, whoſe virtues have been ſo long the example, the boaſt of our fraternity; whoſe countenance diffuſed ſplendor and brightneſs through the

wide *arch* of *Maſonry*, has gone down in the *Weſt*, has deſcended to the ſilent manſions of the dead. That perfect *Aſhler* which ſtood at the Eaſt corner of our *Temple* ; that *Stone* which the Builders ſelected, which was wrought and poliſhed by the hand of GOD himſelf ; that on which reſted the main pillar of our *Fabric*, is torn away and removed by the reſiſtleſs arm of *Death ;* the ſtrength of our building is decayed ; its beauty and ornament are obliterated forever ; the *Grand Architect* in heaven has recalled from his embaſſy, a being, who was ſent to us, as a *light* to our deſigns, a *model* for our labors. *Pure Spirit of Maſonry !* thy loſs is irreparable. Well mayeſt thou now make the "duſt thy paper, and with rainy tears, write ſorrow on the boſom of the earth."—The faireſt *column* of thy earthly *Temple* is broken ; the *column* on which the brighteſt features of thy character were engraven, is demoliſhed, and in the *quarries* of heaven alone is there a precious ſtone to ſupply its place.

THINK not, my Brothers, that I have felt it my duty, on the preſent occaſion, to aſſiſt you in eſtimating the magnitude of your loſs, by an attempt to diſplay all the virtues of the wonderful man, whoſe death we commemorate. Forgive me, if I touch lightly on a few lineaments of a character, whoſe aggregate is not only far beyond my powers to deſcribe; but as far beyond my faculties to comprehend. A few days only have elapſed ſince I was firſt invited by my brethren to aſſiſt in this ſolemn offering of grief. In this buſy, thoughtleſs, tumultuous world, I leave you to conſider, what a ſmall, very ſmall portion of our reflection is fit to be dedicated to a ſubject ſo intereſting, ſo ſublimely affecting.—For myſelf, I can hardly contemplate the death of WASHINGTON without a feeling of piety and devotion; I dared not think of the event, until I had purified my mind from every ſentiment relating to the ſtale concerns of ordinary life; and to ſpeak of him, in this ſolemn Lodge, I ſhould conſider as nearly allied to blaſphemy, had I not firſt cleanſed my tongue from all the frivolous language to which it is accuſtomed.

WITH theſe impreſſions on my mind, few indeed muſt have been the moments I have had to prepare for this ſolemnity; but I complain not of their brevity, for *Time* himſelf could not lend me hours enough to complete the taſk—Had every minute of my leiſure been protracted to months—had every month been prolonged to years, ſtill ſhould I have been but at the beginning of a duty, ſo ſtupendous as that of recording the virtues of our illuſtrious deceaſed. Were the flight of my fancy ſwift as a ſun-beam; were the viſion of my mind ſharp as lightning, in the "collied night," yet would they be ſlow in their progreſs, ſtill muſt they loiter in the rear of his glory and renown. What then, my Brothers, can be expected of me, dull and feeble as I am; what can I ſay to magnify the Eulogium he deſerved; to ſwell the tide of grief, that is now burſting from the eyes of his faithful, affectionate, and grateful countrymen. Compared to his virtues, and the world's ſorrow for his death, all the little praiſe in my power to beſtow, is but as the tranſient night fly's twinkle, to the ſteady luſtre of the pole ſtar

—my voice as a ſigh to the whirlwind—and our united ſympathy but as a ſingle tear drop on the billows of ocean.

WERE we contemplating the character of other heroes and ſtateſmen, whom hiſtory hath celebrated, well indeed might it be ſuſpected that hypocriſy had put on for a while the vizard of grief; that cold ſenſeleſs duty has been blowing its ſtudied praiſes through the trump of hollow adulation; but on a theme like the preſent, language loſes the power to exaggerate, and even diſſimulation itſelf could hardly conjure up a pretence, that would reach in ſemblance to the height of reality. The character of WASHINGTON ſtood ſingle and alone. In him all the qualities which conſtitute the excellence of man, however contrary in nature or repugnant in principle, were almoſt miraculouſly united and reconciled;—with the ardor of his youth, was aſſociated the temperance of age; imagination was inſtructed by prudence, without being trammelled by timidity; caution guided the ſteps of raſhneſs, but fear did not retard the celerity of courage.

His firſt achievement in war, was but the experiment of youth ; and yet on the field of *Braddock*, his ſucceſs ſeemed to have reſulted alone, from the ripened experience of manhood. He was then little more than a beardleſs ſtripling, the leader of an undiſciplined militia, "diſdainfully thrown in the rear" of a veteran ſoldiery ; but on that memorable day, when victory had already pronounced a deciſion on the conflict, when death, furious and inclement, had reached to the very middle of his ranks, and with hideous yell, was in ſwift purſuit of a diſordered and affrighted army, there did we behold our youthful hero, with calmneſs and ſerenity on his front, collected in the midſt of carnage, and undiſmayed by the horrors that ſurrounded him. Awed by his preſence, deſtiny forgot its reſolves, and even death himſelf, as if outgeneraled by his management, abandoned in deſpair his half completed purpoſe of deſolation.

But the preſages of his youth, bold and promiſing as they were, have been more than conſummated. At an early

period of life, the great properties of his mind were too reſplendent to need an interpretation from ſcrutiny, and their tendency, too perſpicuous to require an aſſurance from the tongue of prophecy.

OUR country was menaced by oppreſſion! *Bellona*'s ſcourge had already been tinged with the blood of our countrymen; our ſhores were ſhadowed by the floating meſſengers of deſtruction; and the very air we breathe, thickened by the ſmoak of our conflagrated villages; when the voice of millions, almoſt at the ſame moment, with a kind of inſtinctive confidence, appealed for protection to the heroiſm of a WASHINGTON. At this perilous criſis, the heart of every American, like the trembling needle at the pole, reſted on him as the laſt point of its dependence. Influenced by no other excitement than the pureſt love of his country, aided by few other reſources, than the exhauſtleſs arſenal of his own great mind, at a time when bravery might have faltered, and deſpair itſelf been diſarmed of its reſolution, did he become the bold decided champion of American liberty.

WITH what unſhaken firmneſs, with what unerring fidelity, he executed the fearful duties of his ſtation, it is thy buſineſs, *Hiſtory!* to pronounce to future generations; thy work is already begun, and when the ſtory is complete, it will be the largeſt, and the moſt inſtructive volume in thy Archives. In vain may thy *Plutarch* and *Polibius* vaunt their *Alexanders*, their *Hannibals*, the *Scipios* and *Cæſars*; all their boaſted virtues would but ſerve as an appendix to the biography of *our* WASHINGTON. Faithful *Clio*, thou who preſideſt in the regiſtry of human tranſactions, thy book and thy trumpet, which have been wont to report the deeds of *heroic murderers*, are now required for a new and more grateful employment; before thou writeſt the name of WASHINGTON, well mayeſt thou tear from thy records, the pages on which are inſcribed the inevitable follies and crimes of mankind—well mayeſt thou now exult, there has once lived a man, who had power without ambition, glory without arrogance, fame without infatuation; a man who united the meekneſs of a chriſtian, with the influence of a deſpot; a man whoſe heart did not ſink

by misfortune, and whoſe head became more ſteady by elevation; a man who ſaved a country by his valor, and could receive its praiſes without aſſumption.

It was, my Brothers, the ſentiment of a very profound writer, "that all human advantages confer more power of doing evil than good." To this opinion, founded on the degeneracy of our nature, common experience had given almoſt the authority of maxim; but the degrading principle, like almoſt every other, deduced from the frailty, the imbecility of man, was preciſely reverſed in the character of WASHINGTON. All his advantages, all his powers, extenſive as they were, and in other hands, deſtructive as they might have been, by a kind of ſupernatural agency, ſeemed to have been directed to but one and the beſt of purpoſes, the welfare of his country and the glory of his God.

There was a time, when, had the ambition of a *Sylla*, been united to the power of a WASHINGTON, this fair country, which we inhabit; this favored reſidence of liberty and peace, might perhaps

have been proſtrate at the foot of an imperious tyrant. Inſtead of greeting our illuſtrious Brother in the ſtreets, with love and the familiarity of his equals, we might have commixed with an obſequious rabble, and followed in the rear of a conqueror in triumph; inſtead of weeping at his grave in all the ſincerity of grief, we might now have been engaged in a mimic ſolemnity, a cold unfeeling ſlaviſh ceremonial. Was there not a time, my Brothers, when he might perhaps have decimated our councils, like a *Cromwell*, garbled our parliament, and trampled with impunity, on the freedom he was commiſſioned and affected to protect? When with a devoted, unſatisfied army at command, he could have ſpoken to us in the name of liberty, and his vacant pretenſions, been received as the only pledge of our rights?

But praiſes be to heaven, our WASHINGTON was incorruptible by the poſſeſſion of glory, as he had been magnanimous in purſuit of his Nation's Independence; his exalted ſoul would have diſdained to command, when duty and honor enjoined him to obey; his valor which had done

every thing for others, had nothing to perform for the aggrandizement of himself. America victorious, her freedom secured, the commanding attitude of a General, the renowned conquering General, was in an instant converted to the humble demeanor of an obedient, unaspiring citizen. At the altar of liberty, when he presented the charter of Independence, he also laid down the sword, by which it had been rescued. By this last act, the vaunting predictions of his enemies were, in a moment, blasted, and the fondest hopes of his countrymen confirmed. He who had conquered the proudest nation of Europe, by a nobler achievement, had now "conquered himself," had vanquished the frailties and infirmities of nature.

From that period, nothing remained of the soldier, the veteran, but the fruits of his victory, and our imperishable remembrance of the valor by which they were acquired. For himself, solitude and retirement were the only recompense he could ask for his services; but even this recompense, little, as it seemed, was greater than his country had power to bestow. Again

was he wanted; his nation called—he could not refrain to liſten and obey—He who had been firſt in the field, was now required to be firſt in the councils of his country. In this elevated department; if any thing could ſurpaſs the rectitude of his conduct, it was the facility and moderation with which he afterwards reſigned the authority of his office. Power, that deluſive phantaſm, which bewilders little minds, had no charm for him; but when duty required its exerciſe for the happineſs of mankind—at a time, when the very name of WASHINGTON had in it the force of magic, when like a ſecret taliſman, it could harmonize the diſcord of paſſions, moſt hoſtile, and reconcile the variance of principles the moſt oppoſite; at a time when the diſſonant voices of conflicting party would have melted into uniſon, to proclaim him again the leader of our Republic; at that very time, when like *Auguſtus*, he could perhaps have managed his fame, to perpetuate his authority, did we behold the venerable *Preſident*, as we had before ſeen the victorious *General*, deſcending with complacence to the humble occupation of an huſbandman.

His labors completed, how much more than his duties performed, our illuſtrious hero was once more permitted to enjoy in retirement the luxury of his reflections. Retirement he might have, but in the drearieſt wilds of our continent, there is not a covert, moſt hidden and inſcrutable, that could hold a being like him, a moment in obſcurity;—Glory, like the pillar and the cloud, marked his progreſs by night and by day. As well might the ſun conceal his diſk behind the vapor of a dew drop—as well might the flaming meteor travel unnoticed through the dark welkin of night, as thou, Oh WASHINGTON! couldſt have lived in thy country, unaccompanied by its regard and aſtoniſhment. In thy own family, at the head of thy domeſtics, thou wert not leſs conſpicuous than when leading to victory in the van of thy armies. In the view of Americans thou wert the ſame illuſtrious being, whether they beheld thee preſiding in their councils, or an unaſſuming umpire in a village diſputation;—in thy hands, the meaneſt implement of a farmer was more graceful and impoſing than the ſceptre of a monarch;

and in the loneliest vale of thy farm, thou wert as high and elevated as if perched on the summit of towering Alleghany ;—the lustre of thy character was intrinsic, unchangeable ; it could neither be increased by accident, nor diminished by the casualties of station.

But in his own view the duties of a patriot were still unsatisfied. All the delights of youth, the energies of manhood, the tranquility of age, which had been successively devoted to his country, he considered but as the interest of a debt which time should not limit nor even death itself annul—beyond the very confines of the grave, when sense should lose its faculty to discern, and action its power to perform, it was his wish to continue in usefulness to mankind—his contemplations, his reflections, (the very beggars privilege) were believed by WASHINGTON to be the property of his fellow-citizens—to his country he bequeathed them—were the inheritance divisible, and the whole world the inheritors, each man's portion of the gift, would be of more value than the wealth of Potosi,

or the accumulated treaſures of the Indies —it is a treaſure laſting as virtue, and imperiſhable as his ſoul.

A FEW years only, my Brothers, have elapſed ſince, in this very metropolis, our eyes, now weeping at his death, have gazed with aſtoniſhment on this wonder, this prodigy of men. Never ſhall I forget the ſolemnity, the impreſſive ſolemnity, which his preſence inſpired. Age forgot its decrepitude—youth forſook its amuſements, and flew together to behold, in reality, a being whom fame had hitherto preſented, but as a picture to the imagination. (He has often ſpoken of it himſelf as the moſt affecting ſcene of his life.) I have ſtill in remembrance the awe, the love and veneration that crowded together on my mind. The gratitude of his countrymen was received with as much modeſty, "as if he had been in the act of apology for his offences."—He could not ſpeak, for ſenſibility had choaked expreſſion; but his countenance addreſſed us in a language more than human, in a language, by the tongue, unutterable; when he bowed, every heart that ſurrounded him, as if it had

received the laſt ſalutation of a dying man, ſunk in ſorrow and dejection. At a time when joy ſhould have rent the air with its acclamations, when every eye would have beamed with rapture, and every tongue ſpoken in the accents of gladneſs, the ſcene was ſilent and ſolemn, and ſeemed fearfully to portend the faſt approaching event which we now commemorate.

I HAD read of triumphal entries, of conquerors in cars, all the ſplendor of Roman and Grecian celebrations, and the noiſy ſhouts of a nation of paraſites, were familiar to my conceptions; but never till then, had I a ſentiment of any thing ſo ſublime as the attitude of ſuch virtue, in ſuch a triumph.

BUT, my friends, the circumſtances of his life, ſtrange, ſurpriſing indeed, were not more remarkable than the ſcenes which have followed his death. More than five millions of people on our own continent, and if the tidings of death have flown on the rapid wing of his living fame, more than ten times five millions on other continents, are, at this moment lamenting the

ſame melancholy event which we now ſolemnize. *Americans*, though his neareſt relations, have not a right to monopolize an excluſive alliance with WASHINGTON. He was a *Man*, the beſt friend of man, and every thing wearing the form or feature of humanity, muſt feel a pride in being called his kinſman. *Vernon!* high and lofty as thou art, thou ſecond *Arrarat*, on which the Ark of American ſafety was lodged, every acre of our continent, as well as thy own proud hill, was reſcued and protected by his arm, and has a right to conteſt thy boaſted pre-eminence! *Virginia*, favored ſpot of his nativity, he was not thine, thy ſiſters in the *North* and the *South*, claim a portion of his glory as their inheritance! *Columbia*, he was not thine, he was a deſcendant of *Adam*, and every ſon and daughter of *Adam*, may exult that he was their *friend* and their *brother*. *Earth*, he was not thine, he was the offspring of virtue, the favorite of Heaven; to Heaven has he aſcended—there is his *own*, his laſt, his eternal abode!!

ORATION,

ON THE SUBLIME VIRTUES OF GENERAL *GEORGE WASHINGTON*, PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE HONORABLE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS, CONVENED IN BOSTON, FEBRUARY 8th, 1800.

BY *FISHER AMES*.

IT is natural that the gratitude of mankind ſhould be drawn to their benefactors. A number of theſe have ſucceſſively ariſen, who were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the elevation of their virtues, than the luſtre of their talents. Of thoſe however who were born, and who acted through life, as if they were born, not for themſelves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages, and how wide the intervals

of time and ſpace that divide them. In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or ſix light houſes on as many thouſand miles of coaſt: they gleam upon the ſurrounding darkneſs, with an inextinguiſhable ſplendor, like ſtars ſeen through a miſt; but they are ſeen like ſtars, to cheer, to guide, and to ſave. WASHINGTON is now added to that ſmall number. Already he attracts curioſity, like a newly diſcovered ſtar, whoſe benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's fartheſt bounds. Already his name is hung up by hiſtory as conſpicuouſly, as if it ſparkled in one of the conſtellations of the ſky.

By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confeſs the common debt of mankind as well as our own; and to pronounce for poſterity, now dumb, that eulogium, which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

I consider myſelf not merely in the midſt of the citizens of this town, or even of the State. In idea, I gather round me the nation. In the vaſt and venerable con-

gregation of the patriots of all countries and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raiſe my voice, and ſpeak to mankind in a ſtrain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my ſubject. But how ſhall I expreſs emotions, that are condemned to be mute, becauſe they are unutterable? I felt, and I was witneſs, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief, that ſaddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow labored for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the conſolation of other men's tears. Gracious Heaven! what conſolation! Each face was convulſed with ſorrow for the paſt; every heart ſhivered with deſpair for the future. The man, who and who alone, united all hearts, was dead; dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greateſt, and when the aſpect of the imminent public dangers ſeemed more than ever to render his aid indiſpenſable, and his loſs irreparable: irreparable; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

A GRIEF ſo thoughtful, ſo profound, ſo mingled with tenderneſs and admiration,

ſo interwoven with our national ſelf-love, ſo often revived by being diffuſed, is not to be expreſſed. You have aſſigned me a taſk that is impoſſible.

O! IF I could perform it; if I could illuſtrate his principles in my diſcourſe as he diſplayed them in his life; if I could paint his virtues as he practiſed them; if I could convert the fervid enthuſiaſm of my heart into the talent to tranſmit his fame, as it ought to paſs to poſterity; I ſhould be the ſucceſsful organ of your will, the miniſter of his virtues, and may I dare to ſay, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. Theſe are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them. For it is perhaps almoſt as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praiſe great actions, as to perform them. A laviſh and undiſtinguiſhing eulogium is not praiſe; and to diſcriminate ſuch excellent qualities as were characteriſtic and peculiar to him, would be to raiſe a name, as he raiſed it, above envy, above parallel, perhaps, for that very reaſon, above emulation.

SUCH a portraying of character, however, muſt be addreſſed to the underſtanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would ſeem to be rather an analyſis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero's exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and eſteem, than kindle enthuſiaſm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and, like a picture, flat as the canvas; like a ſtatue, cold as the marble on which he is repreſented; cold, alas, as his corpſe in the ground! Ah, how unlike the man late warm with living virtues, animated by the ſoul once glowing with patriotic fires! He is gone! the tomb hides all, that the world could ſcarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country; and his example; *that* let us endeavor by delineating to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, wiſdom in her treaſury.

PEACE then to your ſorrows. I have done with them. Deep as your grief is, I aim not to be pathetic. I deſire leſs to give utterance to the feelings of this age,

than to the judgment of the next. Let us faithfully repreſent the illuſtrious dead, as hiſtory will paint, as poſterity will behold him.

WITH whatever fidelity I might execute this taſk, I know that ſome would prefer a picture drawn to the imagination. They would have our WASHINGTON repreſented of a giant's ſize, and in the character of a hero of romance. They who love to wonder better than to reaſon, would not be ſatisfied with the contemplation of a great example, unleſs, in the exhibition, it ſhould be ſo diſtorted into prodigy, as to be both incredible and uſeleſs. Others, I hope but few, who think meanly of human nature, will deem it incredible, that even WASHINGTON ſhould think with as much dignity and elevation, as he acted; and they will grovel in vain in the ſearch for mean and ſelfiſh motives, that could incite and ſuſtain him to devote his life to his country.

Do not theſe ſuggeſtions ſound in your ears like a profanation of virtue? and, while I pronounce them, do you not feel a

thrill of indignation at your hearts? Forbear. Time never fails to bring every exalted reputation to a ſtrict ſcrutiny: the world, in paſſing the judgment that is never to be reverſed, will deny all partiality, even to the name of WASHINGTON. Let it be denied: for its juſtice will confer glory.

SUCH a life as WASHINGTON's cannot derive honor from the circumſtances of birth and education, though it throws back a luſtre upon both. With an inquiſitive mind, that always profited by the lights of others, and was unclouded by paſſions of its own, he acquired a maturity of judgment, rare in age, unparalleled in youth. Perhaps no young man had ſo early laid up a life's ſtock of materials for ſolid reflection, or ſettled ſo ſoon the principles and habits of his conduct. Grey experience liſtened to his counſels with reſpect, and at a time when youth is almoſt privileged to be raſh, Virginia committed the ſafety of her frontier, and ultimately the ſafety of America, not merely to his valor, for that would be ſcarcely praiſe; but to his prudence.

IT is not in Indian wars that heroes are celebrated; but it is there they are formed. No enemy can be more formidable, by the craft of his ambuſhes, the ſuddenneſs of his onſet, or the ferocity of his vengeance. The ſoul of WASHINGTON was thus exerciſed to danger; and on the firſt trial, as on every other, it appeared firm in adverſity, cool in action, undaunted, ſelf-poſſeſſed. His ſpirit, and ſtill more his prudence, on the occaſion of Braddock's defeat, diffuſed his name throughout America, and acroſs the Atlantic. Even then his country viewed him with complacency, as her moſt hopeful ſon.

AT the peace of 1763, Great-Britain, in conſequence of her victories, ſtood in a poſition to preſcribe her own terms. She choſe, perhaps, better for us than for herſelf: for by expelling the French from Canada, we no longer feared hoſtile neighbors; and we ſoon found juſt cauſe to be afraid of our protectors. We diſcerned even then a truth, which the conduct of France has ſince ſo ſtrongly confirmed, that there is nothing which the gratitude of weak ſtates can give, that will ſatisfy ſtrong

allies for their aid, but authority. Nations that want protectors, will have maſters. Our ſettlements, no longer checked by enemies on the frontier, rapidly increaſed; and it was diſcovered, that America was growing to a ſize that could defend itſelf.

In this, perhaps unforeſeen, but at length obvious ſtate of things, the Britiſh Government conceived a jealouſy of the Colonies, of which, and of their intended meaſures of precaution, they made no ſecret.

Thus it happened, that their foreſight of the evil, aggravated its ſymptoms, and accelerated its progreſs. The coloniſts perceived that they could not be governed, as before, by affection; and reſolved that they would not be governed by force. Nobly reſolved! for had we ſubmitted to the Britiſh claims of right, we ſhould have had, if any, leſs than our ancient liberty; and held what might have been left by a worſe tenure.

Our nation, like its great leader, had only to take counſel from its courage.

When WASHINGTON heard the voice of his country in diſtreſs, his obedience was prompt; and though his ſacrifices were great, they coſt him no effort. Neither the object nor the limits of my plan, permit me to dilate on the military events of the revolutionary war. Our hiſtory is but a tranſcript of his claims on our gratitude. Our hearts bear teſtimony, that they are claims not to be ſatisfied. When overmatched by numbers; a fugitive, with a little band of faithful ſoldiers; the States as much exhauſted as diſmayed; he explored his own undaunted heart, and found there reſources to retrieve our affairs. We have ſeen him diſplay as much valor as gives fame to heroes, and as conſummate prudence as enſures ſucceſs to valor; fearleſs of dangers that were perſonal to him; heſitating and cautious, when they affected his country; preferring fame before ſafety or repoſe; and duty, before fame.

ROME did not owe more to Fabius, than America to WASHINGTON. Our nation ſhares with him the ſingular glory of having conducted a civil war with mildneſs, and a revolution, with order.

THE event of that war ſeemed to crown the felicity and glory both of America and its Chief. Until that conteſt, a great part of the civilized world had been ſurpriſingly ignorant of the force and character, and almoſt of the exiſtence, of the Britiſh Colonies. They had not retained what they knew, nor felt curioſity to know the ſtate of thirteen wretched ſettlements, which vaſt woods incloſed, and ſtill vaſter woods divided from each other. They did not view the coloniſts ſo much a people, as a race of fugitives, whom want, and ſolitude, and intermixture with the ſavages, had made barbarians. Great-Britain, they ſaw, was elate with her victories: Europe ſtood in awe of her power: her arms made the thrones of the moſt powerful unſteady, and diſturbed the tranquility of their States, with an agitation more extenſive than an earthquake. As the giant Enceladus is fabled to lie under Etna, and to ſhake the mountain when he turns his limbs, her hoſtility was felt to the extremities of the world. It reached to both the Indies; in the wilds of Africa, it obſtructed the commerce in ſlaves; the whales, finding, in

time of war, a reſpite from their purſuers, could venture to ſport between the tropics, and did not flee, as in peace, to hide beneath the ice-fields of the polar circle.

At this time, while Great-Britain wielded a force not inferior to that of the Roman empire under Trajan, ſuddenly, aſtoniſhed Europe beheld a feeble people, till then unknown, ſtand forth, and defy this giant to the combat. It was ſo unequal, all expected it would be ſhort. The events of that war were ſo many miracles, that attracted, as much perhaps as any war ever did, the wonder of mankind. Our final ſucceſs exalted their admiration to its higheſt point; they allowed to WASHINGTON all that is due to tranſcendent virtue, and to the Americans more than is due to human nature. They conſidered us a race of WASHINGTONS, and admitted that nature in America was fruitful only in prodigies. Their books and their travellers, exaggerating and diſtorting all their repreſentations, aſſiſted to eſtabliſh the opinion, that this is a new world, with a new order of men and things adapted to it; that here we practiſe induſtry, amidſt the

abundance that requires none; that we have morals ſo refined, that we do not need laws; and though we have them, yet we ought to conſider their execution as an inſult and a wrong; that we have virtue without weakneſſes, ſentiment without paſſions, and liberty without factions. Theſe illuſions, in ſpite of their abſurdity, and, perhaps, becauſe they are abſurd enough to have dominion over the imagination only, have been received by many of the male-contents againſt the governments of Europe, and induced them to emigrate. Such illuſions are too ſoothing to vanity, to be entirely checked in their currency among Americans.

THEY have been pernicious, as they cheriſh falſe ideas of the rights of men and the duties of rulers. They have led the citizens to look for liberty, where it is not; and to conſider the government, which is its caſtle, as its priſon.

WASHINGTON retired to Mount Vernon, and the eyes of the world follow-ed him. He left his countrymen to their

ſimplicity and their paſſions, and their glory ſoon departed. Europe began to be undeceived, and it ſeemed for a time, as if, by the acquiſition of Independence, our citizens were diſappointed. The Confederation was then the only compact made "to form a perfect union of the States, to eſtabliſh juſtice, to enſure the tranquillity, and provide for the ſecurity, of the nation;" and accordingly, union was a name that ſtill commanded reverence, though not obedience. The ſyſtem called juſtice, was, in ſome of the States, iniquity reduced to elementary principles; and the public tranquillity was ſuch a portentous calm, as rings in deep caverns before the exploſion of an earthquake. Moſt of the States then were in fact, though not in form, unbalanced democracies. Reaſon, it is true, ſpoke audibly in their conſtitutions; paſſion and prejudice louder in their laws. It is to the honor of Maſſachuſetts, that it is chargeable with little deviation from principles. Its adherence to them was one of the cauſes of a dangerous rebellion. It was ſcarcely poſſible that ſuch governments ſhould not be agitated by parties, and that pre-

vailing parties ſhould not be vindictive and unjuſt. Accordingly, in ſome of the States, creditors were treated as outlaws; bankrupts were armed with legal authority to be perſecutors; and, by the ſhock of all confidence and faith, ſociety was ſhaken to its foundations. Liberty we had; but we dreaded its abuſe almoſt as much as its loſs; and the wiſe, who deplored the one, clearly foreſaw the other.

THE States were alſo becoming formidable to each other. Tribute, under the name of impoſt, was for years levied by ſome of the commercial States upon their neighbors. Meaſures of retaliation were reſorted to, and mutual recriminations had begun to whet the reſentments, whoſe never failing progreſs among States is more injuſtice, vengeance, and war.

THE peace of America hung by a thread, and factions were already ſharpening their weapons to cut it. The project of three ſeparate empires in America was beginning to be broached, and the progreſs of licentiouſneſs would have ſoon rendered her citizens unfit for liberty in either of

them. An age of blood and misery would have punished our disunion: But these were not the considerations to deter ambition from its purpose, while there were so many circumstances in our political situation to favor it.

At this awful crisis, which all the wise so much dreaded at the time, yet which appears, on a retrospect, so much more dreadful than their fears; some man was wanting, who possessed a commanding power over the popular passions, but over whom those passions had no power.—That man was WASHINGTON.

His name, at the head of such a list of worthies as would reflect honor on any country, had its proper weight with all the enlightened, and with almost all the well-disposed among the less informed citizens, and, blessed be God! the Constitution was adopted. Yes, to the eternal honor of America among the nations of the earth, it was adopted, in spite of the obstacles which, in any other country, and perhaps in any other age of *this*, would have been insurmountable; in spite of the doubts and

fears, which well meaning prejudice creates for itſelf, and which party ſo artfully inflames into ſtubbornneſs; in ſpite of the vice, which it has ſubjected to reſtraint, and which is therefore its immortal and implacable foe; in ſpite of the oligarchies in ſome of the States, from whom it ſnatched dominion; it was adopted, and our country enjoys one more invaluable chance for its union and happineſs: Invaluable! if the retroſpect of the dangers we have eſcaped, ſhall ſufficiently inculcate the principles we have ſo tardily eſtabliſhed. Perhaps multitudes are not to be taught by their fears only, without ſuffering much to deepen the impreſſion: For experience brandiſhes in her ſchool a whip of ſcorpions, and teaches nations her ſummary leſſons of wiſdom by the ſcars and wounds of their adverſity.

The amendments which have been projected in ſome of the States ſhow, that in them at leaſt, theſe leſſons are not well remembered. In a confederacy of States, ſome powerful, others weak, the weakneſs of the federal union will, ſooner or later, encourage, and will not reſtrain, the ambi-

tion and injuſtice of the members. The weak can no otherwiſe be ſtrong or ſafe, but in the energy of the national government. It is this defect, which the blind jealouſy of the weak States not unfrequently contributes to prolong, that has proved fatal to all the confederations that ever exiſted.

ALTHOUGH it was impoſſible that ſuch merit as WASHINGTON's ſhould not produce envy, it was ſcarcely poſſible that, with ſuch a tranſcendent reputation, he ſhould have rivals. Accordingly, he was unanimouſly choſen Preſident of the United States.

As a General and a Patriot, the meaſure of his glory was already full : There was no fame left for him to excel but his own ; and even that taſk, the mightieſt of all his labors, his civil magiſtracy has accompliſhed.

No ſooner did the new government begin its auſpicious courſe, than order ſeemed to ariſe out of confuſion. The governments of Europe had ſeen the old Confed-

eration ſinking, ſqualid and pale, into the tomb, when they beheld the new American Republic riſe ſuddenly from the ground; and, throwing off its grave cloaths, exhibiting the ſtature and proportions of a young giant, refreſhed with ſleep. Commerce and induſtry awoke, and were cheerful at their labors; for credit and confidence awoke with them. Every where was the appearance of proſperity; and the only fear was, that its progreſs was too rapid, to conſiſt with the purity and ſimplicity of ancient manners. The cares and labors of the Preſident were inceſſant: His exhortations, example, and authority, were employed to excite zeal and activity for the public ſervice: Able officers were ſelected, only for their merits; and ſome of them remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſucceſsful management of the public buſineſs. Government was adminiſtered with ſuch integrity, without myſtery, and in ſo proſperous a courſe, that it ſeemed to be wholly employed in acts of beneficence. Though it has made many thouſand malecontents, it has never, by its rigor or injuſtice, made one man wretched.

SUCH was the ſtate of public affairs: and did it not ſeem perfectly to enſure uninterrupted harmony to the citizens? did they not, in reſpect to their government and its adminiſtration, poſſeſs their whole heart's deſire? They had ſeen and ſuffered long the want of an efficient Conſtitution: they had freely ratified it: They ſaw WASHINGTON, their tried friend, the father of his country, inveſted with its powers. They knew that he could not exceed or betray them, without forfeiting his own reputation. Conſider, for a moment, what a reputation it was: Such as no man ever before poſſeſſed by ſo clear a title, and in ſo high a degree. His fame ſeemed in its purity to exceed even its brightneſs: office took honor from his acceptance, but conferred none. Ambition ſtood awed and darkened by his ſhadow. For where, thro the wide earth, was the man ſo vain as to diſpute precedence with him; or what were the honors that could make the poſſeſſor WASHINGTON's ſuperior? Refined and complex as the ideas of virtue are, even the groſs could diſcern in his life the infinite ſuperiority of her rewards.

Mankind perceived ſome change in their ideas of greatneſs: the ſplendor of power, and even of the name of conqueror, had grown dim in their eyes. They did not know that WASHINGTON could augment his fame; but they knew and felt, that the world's wealth, and its empire too, would be a bribe far beneath his acceptance.

THIS is not exaggeration: never was confidence in a man and a chief magiſtrate more widely diffuſed, or more ſolidly eſtabliſhed.

IF it had been in the nature of man that we ſhould enjoy liberty, without the agitations of party, the United States had a right, under theſe circumſtances, to expect it: but it was impoſſible. Where there is no liberty, they may be exempt from party. It will ſeem ſtrange, but it ſcarcely admits a doubt, that there are fewer malecontents in Turkey, than in any free ſtate in the world. Where the people have no power, they enter into no conteſts, and are not anxious to know how they

ſhall uſe it. The ſpirit of diſcontent becomes torpid for want of employment, and ſighs itſelf to reſt. The people ſleep ſoundly in their chains, and do not even dream of their weight. They loſe their turbulence with their energy, and become as tractable as any other animals; a ſtate of degradation, in which they extort our ſcorn, and engage our pity, for the miſery they do not feel. Yet that heart is a baſe one, and fit only for a ſlave's boſom, that would not bleed freely, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a condition; for liberty with all its parties and agitations is more deſirable than ſlavery. Who would not prefer the republics of ancient Greece, where liberty once ſubſiſted in its exceſs, its delirium, terrible in its charms, and gliſtening to the laſt with the blaze of the very fire that conſumed it?

I DO not know that I ought, but I am ſure that I do, prefer thoſe republics to the dozing ſlavery of the modern Greece, where the degraded wretches have ſuffered ſcorn till they merit it, where they tread on claſſic ground, on the aſhes of heroes and patriots, unconſcious of their anceſtry,

ignorant of the nature, and almoſt of the name of liberty, and inſenſible even to the paſſion for it. Who, on this contraſt, can forbear to ſay, it is the modern Greece that lies buried, that ſleeps forgotten in the caves of Turkiſh darkneſs? It is the ancient Greece that lives in remembrance, that is ſtill bright with glory, ſtill freſh in immortal youth. They are unworthy of liberty, who entertain a leſs exalted idea of its excellence. The misfortune is, that thoſe who profeſs to be its moſt paſſionate admirers have, generally, the leaſt comprehenſion of its hazards and impediments: they expect that an enthuſiaſtic admiration of its nature will reconcile the multitude to the irkſomeneſs of its reſtraints. Deluſive expectation! WASHINGTON was not thus deluded. We have his ſolemn warning againſt the often fatal propenſities of liberty. He had reflected, that men are often falſe to their country and their honor, falſe to duty and even to their intereſt; but multitudes of men are never long falſe or deaf to their paſſions; theſe will find obſtacles in the laws, aſſociates in party. The fellowſhips thus formed are more inti-

mate, and impoſe commands more imperious, than thoſe of ſociety.

THUS party forms a ſtate within the ſtate, and is animated by a rivalſhip, fear, and hatred, of its ſuperior. When this happens, the merits of the government will become freſh provocations and offences; for they are the merits of an enemy. No wonder then, that as ſoon as party found the virtue and glory of WASHINGTON were obſtacles, the attempt was made, by calumny, to ſurmount them both. For this, the greateſt of all his trials, we know that he was prepared. He knew that the government muſt poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength from within or without, or fall a victim to faction. This *interior* ſtrength was plainly inadequate to its defence, unleſs it could be reinforced from *without* by the zeal and patriotiſm of the citizens; and this latter reſource was certainly as acceſſible to Preſident WASHINGTON, as to any chief magiſtrate that ever lived. The life of the federal government, he conſidered, was in the breath of the people's noſtrils: whenever they ſhould hap-

pen to be ſo infatuated or inflamed as to abandon its defence, its end muſt be as ſpeedy, and might be as tragical, as a conſtitution for France.

WHILE the Preſident was thus adminiſtering the government, in ſo wiſe and juſt a manner, as to engage the great majority of the enlightened and virtuous citizens to co-operate with him for its ſupport, and while he indulged the hope that time and habit were confirming their attachment, the French revolution had reached that point in its progreſs, when its terrible principles began to agitate all civilized nations. I will not, on this occaſion, detain you to expreſs, though my thoughts teem with it, my deep abhorrence of that revolution; its deſpotiſm, by the mob or the military, from the firſt, and its hypocriſy of morals to the laſt. Scenes have paſſed there which exceed deſcription, and which, for other reaſons, I will not attempt to deſcribe; for it would not be poſſible, even at this diſtance of time, and with the ſea between us and France, to go through with the recital of them, without perceiving

horror gather, like a froſt, about the heart, and almoſt ſtop its pulſe. That revolution has been conſtant in nothing but its viciſſitudes, and its promiſes; always deluſive but always renewed, to eſtabliſh philoſophy by crimes, and liberty by the ſword. The people of France, if they are not like the modern Greeks, find their cap of liberty is a ſoldier's helmet; and, with all their imitation of dictators and conſuls, their exacteſt ſimilitude to theſe Roman ornaments, is in their chains. The nations of Europe perceive another reſemblance, in their all conquering ambition.

But it is only the influence of that event on America, and on the meaſures of the Preſident, that belongs to my ſubject. It would be ingratefully wrong to his character to be ſilent in reſpect to a part of it, which has the moſt ſignally illuſtrated his virtues.

The genuine character of that Revolution is not even yet ſo well underſtood as the dictates of ſelf-preſervation require it ſhould be. The chief duty and care of all Governments is to protect the rights of

property, and the tranquillity of ſociety. The leaders of the French Revolution, from the beginning, excited the poor againſt the rich: This has made the rich poor, but it will never make the poor rich. On the contrary, they were uſed only as blind inſtruments to make thoſe leaders maſters, firſt of the adverſe party, and then of the State. Thus the powers of the State were turned round into a direction exactly contrary to the proper one, not to preſerve tranquillity and reſtrain violence, but to excite violence by the lure of power, and plunder, and vengeance. Thus all France has been, and ſtill is, as much the prize of the ruling party as a captured ſhip; and if any right or poſſeſſion has eſcaped confiſcation, there is none that has not been liable to it.

Thus it clearly appears that, in its origin, its character, and its means, the government of that country is revolutionary; that is, not only different from, but directly contrary to, every regular and well ordered ſociety. It is a danger, ſimilar in its kind, and at leaſt equal in degree, to that, with which ancient Rome menaced

her enemies. The allies of Rome were ſlaves; and it coſt ſome hundred years efforts of her policy and arms, to make her enemies her allies. Nations, at this day, can truſt no better to treaties; they cannot even truſt to arms, unleſs they are uſed with a ſpirit and perſeverance becoming the magnitude of their danger. For the French revolution has been, from the firſt, hoſtile to all right and juſtice, to all peace and order in ſociety; and, therefore, its very exiſtence has been a ſtate of warfare againſt the civilized world, and moſt of all againſt free and orderly Republics. For ſuch are never without factions, ready to be the allies of France, and to aid her in the work of deſtruction. Accordingly, ſcarcely any but Republics have they ſubverted. Such governments, by ſhowing in practice what Republican Liberty *is*, detect French impoſture, and ſhow what their pretexts are *not*.

To ſubvert them, therefore, they had, beſides the facility that faction affords, the double excitement of removing a reproach, and converting their greateſt obſtacles into their moſt efficient auxiliaries.

WHO then, on careful reflection, will be ſurpriſed, that the French and their partizans inſtantly conceived the deſire, and made the moſt powerful attempts to revolutionize the American Government? But it will hereafter ſeem ſtrange that their exceſſes ſhould be excuſed, as the effects of a ſtruggle for liberty, and that ſo many of our citizens ſhould be flattered, while they were inſulted, with the idea, that our example was copied, and our principles purſued. Nothing was ever more falſe, or more faſcinating. Our liberty depends on our education, our laws, and habits, to which even prejudices yield; on the diſperſion of our people on farms, and on the almoſt equal diffuſion of property; it is founded on morals and religion, whoſe authority reigns in the heart, and on the influence all theſe produce on public opinion before *that* opinion governs rulers. *Here* liberty is reſtraint, *there* it is violence; *here* it is mild and cheering, like the morning ſun of our ſummer, brightening the hills, and making the vallies green; *there* it is like the ſun, when his rays dart peſtilence on the ſands of Africa. American liberty calms and reſtrains the licentious paſſions,

like an angel that ſays to the winds and troubled ſeas, be ſtill. But how has French licentiouſneſs appeared to the wretched citizens of Switzerland and Venice? Do not their haunted imaginations, even when they wake, repreſent her as a monſter, with eyes that flaſh wild fire, hands that hurl thunderbolts, a voice that ſhakes the foundation of the hills? She ſtands, and her ambition meaſures the earth; ſhe ſpeaks, and an epidemic fury ſeizes the Nations.

EXPERIENCE is loſt upon us, if we deny, that it had ſeized a large part of the American Nation. It is as ſober, and intelligent, as free, and as worthy to be free, as any in the world; yet, like all other people, we have paſſions and prejudices, and they had received a violent impulſe, which, for a time, miſled us.

JACOBINISM had become here, as in France, rather a ſect than a party; inſpiring a fanaticiſm that was equally intolerant and contagious. The deluſion was general enough to be thought the voice of the people, therefore claiming authority with-

out proof; and jealous enough to exact acquiescence without a murmur of contradiction. Some progress was made in training multitudes to be vindictive and ferocious. To them nothing seemed amiable, but the revolutionary justice of Paris; nothing terrible, but the government and justice of America. The very name of *Patriots* was claimed and applied in proportion as the citizens had alienated their hearts from America, and transferred their affections to their foreign corrupter. Party discerned its intimate connexion of interest with France, and consummated its profligacy by yielding to foreign influence.

THE views of these allies required that this country should engage in war with Great-Britain. Nothing less would give to France all the means of annoying this dreaded rival: Nothing less would ensure the subjection of America, as a satellite to the ambition of France: Nothing else could make a Revolution here perfectly inevitable.

FOR this end, the minds of the citizens were artfully inflamed, and the mo-

ment was watched, and impatiently waited for, when their long heated paſſions ſhould be in fuſion, to pour them forth, like the lava of a volcano, to blacken and conſume the peace and government of our country.

THE ſyſtematic operations of a faction under foreign influence had begun to appear, and were ſucceſſively purſued, in a manner too deeply alarming to be ſoon forgotten. Who of us does not remember this worſt of evils in this worſt of ways? Shame would forget, if it could, that, in one of the States, amendments were propoſed to break down the Federal Senate, which, as in the State Governments, is a great bulwark of the public order. To break down another, an extravagant judiciary power was claimed for States. In another State a rebellion was fomented by the agent of France: And who, without freſh indignation, can remember, that the powers of Government were openly uſurped; troops levied, and ſhips fitted out to fight for her? Nor can any true friend to our Government conſider without dread, that, ſoon afterwards, the treaty making

power was boldly challenged for a branch of the Government, from which the Conſtitution has wiſely withholden it.

I AM oppreſſed, and know not how to proceed with my ſubject—WASHINGTON, bleſſed be GOD! who endued him with wiſdom and clothed him with power—WASHINGTON iſſued his Proclamation of Neutrality, and, at an early period, arreſted the intrigues of France and the paſſions of his countrymen, on the very edge of the precipice of war and revolution.

THIS act of firmneſs, at the hazard of his reputation and peace, entitles him to the name of the firſt of Patriots. Time was gained for the Citizens to recover their virtue and good ſenſe, and they ſoon recovered them. The criſis was paſſed, and America was ſaved.

YOU and I, moſt reſpected fellow-citizens, ſhould be ſooner tired than ſatisfied in recounting the particulars of this illuſtrious man's life.

How great he appeared, while he adminiſtered the Government, how much

greater when he retired from it, how he accepted the Chief military command under his wife and upright ſucceſſor, how his life was unſpotted like his fame, and how his death was worthy of his life, are ſo many diſtinct ſubjects of inſtruction, and each of them ſingly more than enough for an eulogium. I leave the taſk, however, to hiſtory and to poſterity; they will be faithful to it.

It is not impoſſible, that ſome will affect to conſider the honors paid to this great Patriot, by the Nation, as exceſſive, idolatrous, and degrading to free-men, who are all equal. I anſwer, that refuſing to virtue its legitimate honors would not prevent their being laviſhed, in future, on any worthleſs and ambitious favorite. If this day's example ſhould have its natural effect, it will be ſalutary. Let ſuch honors be ſo conferred only when, in future, they ſhall be ſo merited: Then the public ſentiment will not be miſled, nor the principles of a juſt equality corrupted. The beſt evidence of reputation is a man's whole life. We have now, alas! all WASHINGTON's before us. There has ſcarcely appeared a really great man, whoſe character has been

more admired in his life time, or leſs correctly underſtood by his admirers. When it is comprehended, it is no eaſy taſk to delineate its excellencies in ſuch a manner, as to give to the portrait, both intereſt and reſemblance. For it requires thought and ſtudy to underſtand the true ground of the ſuperiority of his character over many others, whom he reſembled in the principles of action, and even in the manner of acting. But perhaps he excels all the great men that ever lived, in the ſteadineſs of his adherence to his maxims of life, and in the uniformity of all his conduct to the ſame maxims. Theſe maxims, though wiſe, were yet not ſo remarkable for their wiſdom, as for their authority over his life: For if there were any errors in his judgment, (and he diſcovered as few as any man) we know of no blemiſhes in his virtue. He was the Patriot without reproach: He loved his country well enough to hold his ſucceſs in ſerving it an ample recompenſe. Thus far ſelf-love and love of country coincided: But when his country needed ſacrifices, that no other man could, or perhaps would be willing to make, he did

not even hesitate. This was virtue in its most exalted character. More than once he put his fame at hazard, when he had reason to think it would be sacrificed, at least in this age. Two instances cannot be denied: When the army was disbanded; and again, when he stood, like *Leonidas* at the pass of Thermopylæ, to defend our Independence against France.

It is indeed almost as difficult to draw his character, as the portrait of Virtue. The reasons are similar. Our ideas of moral excellence are obscure, because they are complex, and we are obliged to resort to illustrations. WASHINGTON's example is the happiest to show what virtue is; and to delineate his character, we naturally expatiate on the beauty of virtue: Much must be felt, and much imagined. His pre-eminence is not so much to be seen in the display of any one virtue, as in the possession of them all, and in the practice of the most difficult. Hereafter therefore his character must be studied before it will be striking; and then it will be admitted as a model; a precious one to a free Republic!

It is no leſs difficult to ſpeak of his talents. They were adapted to lead, without dazzling mankind; and to draw forth and employ the talents of others, without being miſled by them. In this he was certainly ſuperior, that he neither miſtook nor miſapplied his own. His great modeſty and reſerve would have concealed them, if great occaſions had not called them forth; and then, as he never ſpoke from the affectation to ſhine, nor acted from any ſiniſter motives, it is from their effects only that we are to judge of their greatneſs and extent. In public truſts, where men, acting conſpicuouſly, are cautious, and in thoſe private concerns, where few conceal or reſiſt their weakneſſes, WASHINGTON was uniformly great; purſuing right conduct from right maxims. His talents were ſuch, as aſſiſt a ſound judgment, and ripen with it. His prudence was conſummate, and ſeemed to take the direction of his powers and paſſions; for, as a Soldier, he was more ſolicitous to avoid miſtakes that might be fatal, than to perform exploits that are brilliant; and as a Stateſman, to adhere to juſt principles, however

old, than to purſue novelties; and therefore, in both characters, his qualities were ſingularly adapted to the intereſt, and were tried in the greateſt perils, of the country. His habits of inquiry were ſo far remarkable, that he was never ſatisfied with inveſtigating, nor deſiſted from it, ſo long as he had leſs than all the light that he could obtain upon a ſubject; and then he made his deciſion without bias.

This command over the partialities that ſo generally ſtop men ſhort, or turn them aſide, in their purſuit of truth, is one of the chief cauſes of his unvaried courſe of right conduct in ſo many difficult ſcenes, where every human actor muſt be preſumed to err.

If he had ſtrong paſſions, he had learned to ſubdue them, and to be moderate and mild. If he had weakneſſes he concealed them, which is rare, and excluded them from the government of his temper and conduct, which is ſtill more rare. If he loved fame, he never made improper compliances, for what is called popularity. The fame he enjoyed, is of the kind that will

laſt forever; yet it was rather the effect, than the motive, of his conduct. Some future *Plutarch* will ſearch for a parallel to his character. *Epaminondas* is perhaps the brighteſt name of all antiquity. Our WASHINGTON reſembled him in the purity and ardor of his patriotiſm; and like him, he firſt exalted the glory of his country. There, it is to be hoped, the parallel ends: For *Thebes* fell with *Epaminondas*. But ſuch compariſons cannot be purſued far, without departing from the ſimilitude. For we ſhall find it as difficult to compare great men as great rivers. Some we admire for the length and rapidity of their current, and the grandeur of their cataracts: Others, for the majeſtic ſilence and fullneſs of their ſtreams: We cannot bring them together to meaſure the difference of their waters. The unambitious life of WASHINGTON, declining fame, yet courted by it, ſeemed, like the Ohio, to chooſe its long way through ſolitudes, diffuſing fertility; or like his own Potomac, widening and deepening his channel, as he approaches the ſea, and diſplaying moſt the uſefulneſs and ſerenity of his

greatneſs towards the end of his courſe. Such a citizen would do honor to any country. The conſtant veneration and affection of his country will ſhow, that it was worthy of ſuch a citizen.

HOWEVER his military fame may excite the wonder of mankind, it is chiefly by his civil magiſtracy, that his example will inſtruct them. Great Generals have ariſen in all ages of the world, and perhaps moſt in thoſe of deſpotiſm and darkneſs. In times of violence and convulſion, they riſe, by the force of the whirlwind, high enough to ride in it, and direct the ſtorm. Like meteors, they glare on the black clouds with a ſplendor, that, while it dazzles and terrifies, makes nothing viſible but the darkneſs. The fame of heroes is indeed growing vulgar: They multiply in every long war: They ſtand in hiſtory, and thicken in their ranks, almoſt as undiſtinguiſhed as their own ſoldiers.

BUT ſuch a Chief-Magiſtrate as WASHINGTON, appears like the pole ſtar in a clear ſky, to direct the ſkilful ſtateſman. His Preſidency will form an

epoch, and be diſtinguiſhed as the age of WASHINGTON. Already it aſſumes its high place in the political region. Like the milky way, it whitens along its allotted portion of the hemiſphere. The lateſt generations of men will ſurvey, through the teleſcope of hiſtory, the ſpace where ſo many virtues blend their rays, and delight to ſeparate them into groups and diſtinct virtues. As the beſt illuſtration of them, the living monument, to which the firſt of Patriots would have choſen to conſign his fame, it is my earneſt prayer to heaven, that our country may ſubſiſt, even to that late day, in the plenitude of its liberty and happineſs, and mingle its mild glory with WASHINGTON's.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON, ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL *WASHINGTON*, PREACHED AT BURLINGTON, NEW-JERSEY.

BY REV. DR. *WHARTON*.

I Maccabees, c. ix. v. 18, 20, 21, 22.

Judas alſo was killed. And all Iſrael made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, ſaying—How is the valiant man fallen that delivered Iſrael. As for the other things concerning Judas and his wars, and the noble acts which he did, and his greatneſs, they are not written, for they were very many.

WITH how much propriety theſe words refer to the illuſtrious Man, whoſe loſs we now deplore, you my hearers, muſt feel more powerfully than I can expreſs.—The achievements of the Jewiſh hero bear a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe of our late glorious fellow-citizen; and they,

who read the books of the Maccabees, will readily perceive that *Judas Maccabees* was the WASHINGTON of his day. His exploits indeed, and his virtues were too numerous to be written, as the labor of recording in thoſe days, was attended with many difficulties, which the art of printing has happily done away; whereas the tranſcendant accompliſhments and unparalleled tranſactions of our great deliverer, ſtand recorded upon the pages of multiplied hiſtory, and are become even already the objects of admiration and applauſe among all civilized nations.—Well, therefore, may I be excuſed from entering on a detail ſo familiar to every ſon and daughter of America; ſo familiar to the univerſe; well may I be excuſed from attempting to throw any additional luſtre upon the brilliancy of that character, which for ſo many years has ſwelled the ſweeteſt notes of the trumpet of fame, and, borne upon the wings of unadulterated glory, has exhibited to mankind the firſt great ſpectacle of the moſt exalted heroiſm accompanied with dove-like modeſty; of the moſt indefatigable patriotiſm untained with ſelfiſhneſs—of the ſoft irradiations of genuine magnanimity and greatneſs, eclipſing the

obtruſive glare of pride, and effectually oppreſſing the ſwell of arrogance and preſumption. At the grand and ſoothing idea, that this greateſt inſtance of human perfectability, this conſpicuous phænomenon of human elevation and grandeur, ſhould have been permitted to riſe firſt on the horizon of America, every citizen of theſe ſtates muſt feel his boſom beat with rapturous and honeſt pride, tempered with reverential gratitude to the great author and ſource of all perfection.—He will be penetrated with aſtoniſhment, and kindled into thankſgiving, when he reflects that our globe had exiſted 6000 years before a WASHINGTON appeared on the theatre of the world; and that he was then deſtined to appear in America—to be the ornament, the deliverer, the protector, the delight!!!—But alas! he is now no longer among us; He is gone, to his death bed, incloſed in the ſilent tomb; and all that is now left us, is "like all Iſrael, to make great lamentation for him, and to mourn many days, ſaying, how is the valiant man fallen that delivered Iſrael." My brethren, had the character of WASHINGTON reſted ſolely on the baſis of military achievements, and politi-

cal ſagacity; had the vaſt fabric of his immortal reputation been ſupported merely by the hollow columns of univerſal applauſe, and perfumed with no other ſweets than the incenſe of adulation, proffered by the wayward multitude to merit, often as falſe as it is glaring; had the virtues of the man been ſtained by the vices of the hero, or the Chriſtian diſappeared amidſt the pretenſions of the philoſopher, with whatever delight you might have liſtened to his panegyriſts in other places, you would have heard no tribute paid to his memory in this. The temple of God is not deſigned to diſplay the importance and faſcination of human glory and pre-eminence, but rather to exhibit the tranſient glory and emptineſs of both. And yet, O holy and divine religion! who preſideſt within theſe walls, I truſt it will be deemed no violation of thy ſanctuary to have juſt hinted at the genuine glory and unparalleled pre-eminence of character which adorned the great deliverer and beloved Father of our country. His reſpect for thee, was uninterrupted and ſincere. In private and in public, his conduct and converſation were marked

with an awful reverence for thy truths and ordinances; nothing profane ever dropt from his lips; nothing irreligious ever appeared in his behavior; to Providence he aſcribed all his ſucceſs and his glory; he depoſited all his laurels at the foot of the altar, and the affectionate addreſſes of his fellow-citizens, joined with the applauſes of diſtant nations, inſtead of ſwelling his great ſoul with the fumes of vain glory, ſeemed only to depreſs every ſenſe of ſelf-ſufficiency, and rivet more firmly his confidence in the Almighty. In his laſt pathetic addreſs to his country, he bears open and ample teſtimony to the ſanctions of Revelation; and aſſures us all, that without religion, neither the wiſdom of laws, nor the precepts of morality will be able to preſerve a ſtate from deſtruction. Let this ſentiment, my hearers, reſt permanently upon our minds. It is the important legacy of our beloved WASHINGTON, calculated to promote our worldly and eternal happineſs; and I truſt that he now enjoys the bleſſed effects of its adoption. And now let us, from the death of this good and wonderful man, endeavor to learn wiſdom.

A VIEW of his life muſt fill every citizen with aſtoniſhment, veneration and love—while his death conveys the moſt affecting leſſons to a Chriſtian. Let us preſume to follow his diſembodied ſoul into the depths of eternity. There he now is alone with his God. What a ſudden revolution takes place in all his ſentiments and ideas! What avails him now, that he lived a ſolitary example of uninterrupted admiration and worldly proſperity; that he reigned in the affections of every virtuous heart; that his memory is honored by the tears of his own and diſtant nations; the painter, the ſculptor, the hiſtorian and the poet, ſhall vie with each other in conveying to future ages the benign traits of his countenance, the majeſtic ſymmetry of his perſon, the fair features of his expanded mind, and the fair fame of his achievements; what avails him now, that the moſt enlightened ſtrangers from the European world, croſſed the vaſt Atlantic, to behold the Joſhua and the Solomon of America; that mighty veſſels, and towns, and cities, and provinces, bear his name! a name that ſeems to combine whatever is good, and

great, and amiable among men! Alas! neither this mighty name, nor all the events that now agitate the earth, are any thing to him. The vaſt extent of eternity now diſplayed before his eyes; his everlaſting deſtiny in a new ſtate of exiſtence; the realities of the eternal world opened upon his view, fix all the attention and abſorb all the faculties of his immortal ſpirit—thrice happy, I truſt, to have learned from the bleſſed religion, which he profeſſed and reſpected, that all the ſucceſſes and diſgraces of this tranſitory ſtate, when not referred to GOD, are little elſe than empty dreams; that there is no real happineſs or miſery but in eternity. Theſe are leſſons which our divine religion had delivered to the venerable and beloved father of our country: It was his happineſs to believe them: The veil is now rent aſunder; and I doubt not but this great benefactor of mankind, is actually perceiving, feeling, and approving them, in the boſom of the Eternal. And we my hearers, ſhall very ſoon perceive theſe truths and approve them alſo. A few days perhaps, but certainly a few years, will put a period

to our mortal exiſtence. But were our lives to be protracted even through a ſeries of ages, yet ſtill the longeſt life would be only a moment, when meaſured upon the ſcale of eternity; the duration of the loftieſt cedar upon Libanus, is not leſs contracted and precarious, than that of the humble ſhrub that grows in its ſhade. The whole of man ſeems to be, "*to be born and to die.*" The ſpace that intervenes between theſe terms of his mortality is ſo very ſhort, that it appears to be juſt nothing. Genius opulence, fame, authority and reputation; all the gifts and treaſures of nature and of fortune, are evidently contained in a ſmall veſſel of clay; which no ſooner falls, than it is broken in pieces, and its ſcattered fragments, lie uſeleſs on the ground. My hearers, let us accuſtom ourſelves to think, as we ſhall think in eternity; to judge as we ſhall then judge. Happy, thrice happy, the venerable ſage and patriot, whoſe death we now lament, that in life he regarded GOD as the ſovereign maſter; religion as the ſovereign law; the happineſs of eternity as the ſupreme object, that ſhould intereſt his affections. To us, O LORD, it belongs

not to penetrate into the depths of thy judgments; and well we know that human virtues, the moſt reſplendent and ſublime, can entitle no man to the benefit of ſalvation. From thy pure mercy only can this grace be derived. *This* we truſt has been extended to our beloved Father, and Protector. Though a conquering warrior, he delighted in peace; and therefore we conſider he is now *called a child of* GOD:—With juſtice and humanity he judged his Iſrael; and therefore we humbly hope that he alſo has been judged according to the abundance of thy mercy. And if any remains of human frailty were ſtill hanging about him, when uſhered into thy preſence, O! may the cleanſing blood of the Lamb have waſhed every ſtain; may the gates of Sion have opened to receive him, and introduce this defender and benefactor of nations, into the everlaſting repoſe of the elect of GOD.—Amen.

FUNERAL ORATION,

ON GENERAL WASHINGTON, DELIVERED AT PARIS, IN THE TEMPLE OF MARS, 20th PLUVIOSE, 8th FEBRUARY, 1800.

BY LOUIS FONTANES.

FRANCE, unbiaſſed by thoſe narrow prejudices which exiſt between nations, and admiring virtue wherever it be found, decrees this tribute of reſpect to the manes of WASHINGTON. At this moment ſhe contributes to the diſcharge of a debt due by two nations. No government, whatever form it bears, or whatever opinions it holds, can refuſe its reſpect to this great father of liberty. The people who ſo lately ſtigmatiſed WASHINGTON as a rebel, regard even the enfranchiſment of America, as one of thoſe events conſecrated by hiſtory and by paſt ages. Such is

the veneration excited by great characters. The American revolution, the cotemporary of our own, is fixed forever. WASHINGTON began it with energy, and finiſhed it with moderation. He knew how to maintain it, purſuing always the proſperity of his country; and his aim alone will juſtify at the tribunal of the Moſt High, enterpriſes ſo extraordinary.

"To pronounce the eulogy of the hero of America, requires the ſublimeſt eloquence of the firſt orators. I reflect, with ſentiments of admiration, that this temple, ornamented with the trophies of valor, was raiſed up in an age of genius, an age which produced as many great writers as illuſtrious commanders. Then the memory of heroes was entruſted to orators whoſe genius gave immortality. Now, military glory ſhines with luſtre [*eclat*]—and in every country the glory of the fine arts is ſhrouded in darkneſs. My voice is too feeble to be heard on an occaſion ſo ſolemn and momentous, and ſo new to me. But as that voice is pure; as it has never flattered any ſpecies of tyranny; it has never been rendered unworthy of celebrating heroiſm and virtue.

NEVERTHELESS, theſe funeral and military honors will ſpeak to all hearts; it needs not the aid of ſpeech, to raiſe ſtrong and indeſcribable emotions. The mourning which the firſt conſul orders for WASHINGTON, declares to France that WASHINGTON's example is not loſt. It it leſs for the illuſtrious general, than for the benefactor and friend of a great people, that the crape of mourning now covers our banners and the uniform of our warriors. Neither do we prepare that unmeaning pomp, ſo contrary to policy and humanity, in which inſult is offered to humanity, contempt to venerable ruins, and calumny to the tomb. Every exalted idea, every uſeful truth is ſeen in this aſſembly. I ſpeak before warriors, the honorable praiſe of a warrior, firm in adverſity, modeſt in victory and magnanimous in every ſtage of fortune. —Before the miniſters of the French republic, I ſpeak the praiſes of a man whom ambition never ſwayed, and whoſe every care tended to the welfare of his country; a man who, unlike others that have changed empires, lived in peace in his native land; and in that land which he had freed, and in which he had held the higheſt rank, died as a ſimple individual.

"GENERAL WASHINGTON offers examples not leſs worthy of imitation. Amidſt all the diſorder of camps; amidſt all the exceſſes inſeparable from a civil war, humanity took refuge in his tent, and was never repulſed. In triumph and in defeat, he was always as tranquil as wiſdom, as ſimple as virtue. The finer feelings of the heart never abandoned him, even in thoſe moments when his own intereſt would ſeem to juſtify a recurrence to the laws of vengeance. This I call thee to atteſt, O youthful Aſgill! thou whoſe misfortunes have intereſted England, France and America! With what aſſiduous care did WASHINGTON endeavor to delay a ſentence which the laws of war would have precipitated! He expected that a voice, then all powerful, would have been heard acroſs the expanſive ocean, and demanded a pardon which could not be refuſed. That voice, ſo conformable to the feelings of the heart, was heard and felt; and the day which ſaved an innocent victim ought to be inſcribed among the glories of victorious and Independent America. * * * * *

"It is theſe extraordinary men, who appear at intervals on this vaſt ſcene, with

characters commanding and illuſtrious. An unknown and ſuperior cauſe ſends them when it is fit, to lay the foundations of new, or to build up the ruins of old empires. It is in vain that theſe men ſtep aſide, or mingle in the crowd: Deſtiny leads them on; they are carried from obſtacle, to obſtacle, from triumph to triumph, until they arrive at the ſummit of power. Something ſupernatural animates all their thoughts: An irreſiſtable movement is given to all their enterpriſes. The multitude ſtill ſeek them among themſelves, and find them not; they raiſe their eyes, and ſee in a ſphere, dazzling with light and glory, thoſe whom their ignorance and envy would call raſh. WASHINGTON had not thoſe high and commanding traits which ſtrike every mind: He diſplayed more order and juſtice, than force and elevation in his ideas. He poſſeſſed above all, in an eminent degree, that quality which ſome call vulgar, but which very few poſſeſs; that quality not leſs uſeful to the government of ſtates than to the conduct of life, and which gives more tranquility than emotion to the ſoul, and more happineſs than glory to thoſe who poſſeſs it: It is of good ſenſe that I ſpeak.—

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Opinions ſubject to the caprices of the world and to time; opinions, weak and changeable, the inheritance of humanity, vaniſh in the tomb; but glory and virtue live forever. When departed from this ſtage, the great men of every age and of every place, become in ſome meaſure, compatriots and cotemporaries. They form but one family in the memory of the living; and their examples are renewed in every ſucceſſive age. Thus, within theſe walls the valor of WASHINGTON attracts the regard of *Conde*; his modeſty is applauded by *Turenne*; his philoſophy draws him to the boſom of *Catinat*. A people who admit the ancient dogma of a tranſmigration of ſouls, will often confeſs that the ſoul of *Catinat* dwells in the boſom of WASHINGTON.

"THE voice of republicaniſm, which reſounds from every part of theſe walls, ought to pleaſe above all, the defenders of America. Can they not love theſe ſoldiers who, after their example, repelled the enemies of their country? We approach with pleaſure thoſe veterans, whoſe trophies add luſtre to theſe walls, and ſome of whom

have gained laurels with WASHINGTON, in the wilds of Carolina and Virginia."—

"BUT there is ſomething more due to the memory of WASHINGTON; it is the union of France and America: It is the happineſs of each; it is peace between the two nations. It now ſeems to me, that WASHINGTON calls to all France from the very ſummit of his dome—"*Magnanimous People!*" you who know ſo well how to honor glory; I have conquered for Independence; the happineſs of my country was the reward of that victory. Imitate not the firſt half of my life; it is the ſecond that recommends me to poſterity.

"YES, thy counſels ſhall be heard, O WASHINGTON! O warrior! O Legiſlator! O citizen without reproach! He who *while yet young*, rivals thee in battles, ſhall, like thee, with his triumphant hands, heal the wounds of his country.——Even now we have his diſpoſition, his character, for the pledge; and his warlike genius, unfortunately neceſſary, ſhall ſoon lead ſweet peace into this temple of war: Then the ſentiment of univerſal joy ſhall oblite-

rate the remembrance of oppreſſion and injuſtice. Already, the oppreſſed forget their ills, in looking to the future. The acclamations of every age will be offered to the hero who gives happineſs to France, and ſeeks to reſtore it to a contending world."

Character of Washington,

TAKEN FROM "THE *COURIER*" A LONDON PAPER—OF THE 24th JANUARY, 1800.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was, we believe, in his 68th year. The height of his perſon was about 5 feet, eleven; his cheſt full; and his limbs, though rather ſlender, well ſhaped and muſcular. His head was ſmall, in which reſpect he reſembled the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes were of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his noſe was long. Mr. *Stewart*, the eminent portrait painter, uſed to ſay, there were features in his face totally different from what he had ever obſerved in that of any other human being; the ſockets for the eyes, for inſtance, were larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the noſe broader. All his features, he obſerved, were indicative of

the ſtrongeſt paſſions; yet, like *Socrates*, his judgement and great ſelf-command have always made him appear a man of a different caſt in the eyes of the world. He always ſpoke with great diffidence, and ſometimes heſitated for a word; but it was always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language was manly and expreſſive. At levee, his diſcourſe with ſtrangers turned principally upon the ſubject of America; and if they had been through any remarkable places, his converſation was free and particularly intereſting, for he was intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He was much more open and free in his behavior at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies ſtill more ſo than when ſolely with men.

FEW perſons ever found themſelves for the firſt time in the preſence of General WASHINGTON, without being impreſſed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor did thoſe emotions ſubſide on a cloſer acquaintance; on the contrary, his perſon and deportment were ſuch as rather

tended to augment them. The hard ſervice he had ſeen, the important and laborious offices he had filled, gave a kind of auſterity to his countenance, and a reſerve to his manners; yet he was the kindeſt huſband, the moſt humane maſter, the ſteadieſt friend.

THE whole range of hiſtory does not preſent to our view a character upon which we can dwell with ſuch entire and unmixed admiration. The long life of General WASHINGTON is not ſtained by a ſingle blot. He was indeed a man of ſuch rare endowments, and ſuch a fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakneſs. Whatever he ſaid, or did, or wrote, was ſtamped with a ſtriking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were ſo happily blended, and ſo nicely harmonized, that the reſult was a great and perfect whole. The powers of his mind, and the diſpoſitions of his heart, were admirably ſuited to each other. It was the union of the moſt conſummate prudence with the moſt perfect moderation. His views, though large and liberal, were never extravagant; his

virtues, though comprehenſive and beneficent, were diſcriminating, judicious, and practical.

YET his character, though regular and uniform, poſſeſſed none of the littleneſs which may ſometimes belong to theſe deſcriptions of men. It formed a majeſtic pile, the effect of which was not impaired, but improved by order and ſymmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by wildneſs, and ſurprize by eccentricity. It was of a high ſpecies of moral beauty. It contained every thing great and elevated, but it had no falſe and tinſel ornament. It was not the model cried up by faſhion and circumſtance; its excellency was adapted to the true and juſt moral taſte, incapable of change from the varying accidents of manners, of opinions, and times.——General WASHINGTON is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages!

PLACED in circumſtances of the moſt trying difficulty at the commencement of the American conteſt, he accepted that ſituation which was pre-eminent in danger and reſponſibility. His perſeverance over-

came every obſtacle; his moderation conciliated every oppoſition; his genius ſupplied every reſource; his enlarged view could plan, reviſe, and improve every branch of civil and military operation. He had the ſuperior courage which can act or forbear to act, as true policy dictates, careleſs of the reproaches of ignorance, either in power or out of power. He knew how to conquer by waiting, in ſpite of obloquy, for the moment of victory; and he merited true praiſe by deſpiſing undeſerved cenſure. In the moſt arduous moments of the conteſt, his prudent firmneſs proved the ſalvation of the cauſe which he ſupported.

His conduct was, on all occaſions, guided by the moſt pure diſintereſtedneſs. Far ſuperior to low and groveling motives, he ſeemed even to be uninfluenced by that ambition, which has juſtly been called the inſtinct of great ſouls. He acted ever as if his country's welfare, and that alone, was the moving ſpring. His excellent mind needed not even the ſtimulus of ambition, or the proſpect of fame. Glory was but a ſecondary conſideration. He performed great actions, he perſevered in a courſe of

laborious utility, with an equanimity that neither ſought diſtinction, nor was flattered by it. His reward was in the conſciouſneſs of his own rectitude, and in the ſucceſs of his patriotic efforts.

As his elevation to the chief power was the unbiaſſed choice of his countrymen, his exerciſe of it was agreeable to the purity of its origin. As he had neither ſolicited nor uſurped dominion, he had neither to contend with the oppoſition of rivals, nor the revenge of enemies. As his authority was undiſputed, ſo it required no jealous precautions, no rigorous ſeverity. His government was mild and gentle; it was beneficent and liberal; it was wiſe and juſt. His prudent adminiſtration conſolidated and enlarged the dominion of an infant Republic. In voluntarily reſigning the magiſtracy, which he had filled with ſuch diſtinguiſhed honor, he enjoyed the unequalled ſatisfaction of leaving to the State he had contributed to eſtabliſh, the fruits of his wiſdom and the example of his virtues.

It is ſome conſolation, amidſt the violence of ambition and the criminal thirſt

of power, of which ſo many inſtances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honorable to admire, and virtuous to imitate. A Conqueror, for the freedom of his country! A Legiſlator for its ſecurity! A Magiſtrate for its happineſs! His glories were never ſullied by thoſe exceſſes into which the higheſt qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greateſt virtues he was exempt from the correſponding vices. He was a man in whom the elements were ſo mixed, that "nature might have ſtood up to all the world" and owned him as her work. His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of General WASHINGTON, which his cotemporaries regret and admire, will be tranſmitted to poſterity; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotiſm and virtue are held ſacred among men, will remain undiminiſhed.

APPENDIX.

NOTE (A) page 19.

THE following intercepted letter from Monſ. LA ROCHE, to Monſ. L'MAINE, a French officer, was publiſhed by Mr. Thomas Fleet of Boſton, in 1754, ſhortly after it was intercepted, and is an authentic and important document, containing a particular account of the deep deſigns and extenſive plans of the French for ſubjugating the Britiſh colonies at that period; of their forces, and arrangements; and alſo of the defenceleſs ſituation of the colonies. In a word, it throws much light on the hiſtory of that gloomy and intereſting period of our hiſtory, and developes the nature of that long and cruel war, in which the HERO of the preceding memoirs bore ſo conſpicuous a part.

QUEBEC, Feb. 16, 1753.

"SIR,

THE day of my arrival at this place, I ſent diſpatches to all the commanding officers in New-France, to meet me within ten days at Montreal: I alſo immediately ſent expreſſes to all the commanding officers at Miſſiſippi, to muſter with all expedition, the natives enliſted in his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſervice, to join our troops from France, and proceed forthwith to Ohio, there to follow ſuch directions as from time to time they ſhall receive from us at Canada: And according to time appointed, I met Monſ. Duverney at Montreal, with our other officers; at which interview, I received a moſt agreeable account from them, in favor of our royal maſter's intereſt, which gives us a glorious proſpect of ſoon adding a

kingdom unto our dread ſovereign's dominions; for by their account from north to ſouth, they have enliſted into his majeſty's ſervice, four or five thouſand reſolute young natives among the ſeveral tribes; and thoſe have been for ſome time diſciplined, and well equipt with all neceſſaries. They alſo inform me, that our regulars from France, with the natives included, at Miſſiſippi, amount to near two thouſand four hundred, who are to build many ſtrong forts at Ohio and places adjacent, which in a little time we expect will prove impregnable againſt any force the Engliſh can raiſe in thoſe parts. The cannon for ſaid forts is already diſpatched.

Our army at Canada, with our regulars included, will amount to near five thouſand, which we determine to divide into three main bodies, one to be commanded by Count Montery, the ſecond by Monſ. Boriel, and the third by Monſ. Eſtrides. Count Montery to proceed to Crown-Point, and divide his ſquadron into parties on the back of Albany. The ſecond diviſion under Monſ. Boriel, on the back of Maryland and Pennſylvania; and the third under Monſ. Eſtrides, on the back of New-England; which are all to be divided into parties, as the commanding officers ſhall judge proper. We deſign only to ſend ſmall parties of Indians into their back ſettlements, to bring us freſh ſupplies of proviſions until we are properly fortified. Father Anthony, by an uncommon aſſiduity and influence, has gained over to our intereſt, a number of young men of the ſix Nations, who by the Engliſh are looked upon as our enemies; let that ſuſpicion remain, and they may keep the old men and women.

I muſt not omit to acquaint you, that our new Governor is more and more zealous and reſolute to be a principal inſtrument (with the united aſſiſtance of the houſes of Bourbon) to ſubdue and extirpate Heretics out of America. And ſuch a glorious acquiſition, will add a kingdom, which will prove ſuperior to Scotland and Ireland, and furniſh ſtores of every kind for

his moſt chriſtian and catholic majeſty's navy, and proviſions and other neceſſaries even to profuſion, for the ſupply of their royal majeſty's poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies.

Our young Hero, the preſent governor of Canada, did not take this taſk upon him, of making a conqueſt of that part of North-America poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, only from a motive which makes him ruler thereof, and becauſe he has not a ſuperior title; but his preſent diſpoſition animates him to be revenged on the Engliſh Heretics for the late indignities offered his illuſtrious perſon and royal predeceſſors; and is come into theſe parts, inveſted with the power and authority of church and ſtate, and ſupported with money and other aſſiſtance, by his moſt chriſtian and catholic majaſties; and has likewiſe received the ſupreme ſanction and ſovereign benediction of his holineſs the Pope, to drive out of America peſtilent Heretics, to make room for good Cotholics. I have alſo the ſatisfaction of acquainting you, that the regiments raiſed in the Switz Cantons ſome time paſt, which our governor brought over with him, are in high ſpirits, zealous to aſſiſt us againſt the Engliſh, and conceive an infinite ſatisfaction at our preſent proſpect of poſſeſſing thoſe fruitful lands now enjoyed by the Engliſh.

I have lately had a conference with M'Laiſh, an Iriſh Jeſuit of the order of St. Patrick, a politic ingenious man, who has been among the ſeveral tribes, influencing and enliſting the natives into his moſt chriſtian majeſty's ſervice: He gives me a very ſuccinct and ſatisfactory account of the ſeveral tribes of natives near Canada, that upon any emergent occaſion, we may command what numbers we ſhall have occaſion for. He gives me alſo a particular relation of the ſeveral provinces inhabited by the Engliſh on the ſea coaſts, and appears perfectly acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms. He informs me there are many of our hearty friends among them, with whom he has ſettled a correſpondence by letters, by the way of Cape

Breton, and from thence to Quebec. The Engliſh (he ſays) are our good friends; that the meaſures we have concerted, could not be ſo effectually carried on, were it not that one hundred ſail of their veſſels yearly arrive at Cape Breton, with proviſion and other neceſſaries from Philadelphia, New York, Boſton, Rhode-Iſland, &c. which, by a moderate computation, have brought this year 10,000 barrels of flour, 5000 barrels of pork and beef, 1500 tons of bread, and of butter, cheeſe, hogs, neat cattle, and poultry, even to profuſion; ſome of which is ſent to our Southern plantations, and the king's commiſſioners ſupply the magazines at Cape Breton, and ſend large quantities to our army at Quebec, which elevates the ſpirits of our ſoldiers. We have alſo a good ſupply of powder by the way of Cape Breton. M'Laiſh's ſentiments of the Engliſh bordering on the ſea coaſt is ſatisfactory; they having little or no military diſcipline among them, no arms nor ammunition, neither do they know properly how to uſe them, except thoſe Oliverian heretics who took our Cape Breton; theſe caſt a damp on our undertakings; they have the ſame Governor Shirley, who is an enterpriſing, reſolute man; and when he, and the puritan miniſters, ſay to the inhabitants, "Go, fight for your religion and country," they ruſh like lions, and had rather die in battle, than ſubmit to the dictates of our holy Fathers, Jeſuits, Friars, and Monks, and become members of our mother church. They retain the moſt martial ſpirit of any in North America, and have a tincture of Oliver Cromwell's blood remaining; therefore for the preſent, we ſhall not erect any forts bordering near them; ſhould we attempt ſuch a thing, even with ten thouſand men, M'Laiſh is confident we ſhould be prevented, and all our meaſures diſconcerted, by the vigilance of thoſe New England heretics; for if they could take Cape Breton (which we imagined to be impregnable) what can we ſuppoſe they could not effect, when their indignation and reſentment provokes them to oppoſe

our encroachments on their territories? And they are ſenſible, that when once we become their maſters, fire and gibbet will be their portion, if they do not fall down and worſhip the images we ſhall ſet up.

Our deſign is to get footing in the weſtern provinces. Lord Baltimore was one of our mother church, and a good friend to king James; and in Maryland and Virginia, and thoſe parts, there are many true Catholics that will not fight their brethren. M'Laiſh acquaints me, the inhabitants of Pennſylvania are a meek, peaceable people, who will neither furniſh money, arms, nor ammunition, that if you take their coat, they will give you their cloak alſo: theſe we ſhall indulge with many priviledges, for their not oppoſing our meaſures, and quietly ſurrendering their lands, and ſubmitting to the godly admonitions of our holy fathers.

M'Laiſh likewiſe acquaints me, that from New-York weſtward, the inhabitants are not ſuch bigots to religion, therefore may more eaſily be prevailed on to be of our holy religion. The rich traders in thoſe parts, are not concerned at our erecting forts near them, from a view of private gain in the fur trade. And M'Laiſh ſays, the Engliſh might have demoliſhed Crown Point, but many in Albany and New York have received conſiderable advantages by our fur trade, by which, we have alſo been benefitted, in receiving ammunition, &c. in exchange.

There is now a diſpute between our grand monarch and the Engliſh, relating to the boundary line in the North, and what are called the neutral iſlands, in South America; but his moſt chriſtian majeſty is determined to decide the controverſy very ſoon: He is now peopling the neutral iſlands, and what cannon will be requiſite to fortify the ſame, is already at Martinico. From Canada and Miſſiſippi we are to have a ſufficient number of regular troops to join the natives, ſo ſoon as we are prepared to receive them, and thoſe to be diſperſed on the back of the Engliſh,

between Crown Point and Ohio. Our officers are directed to ſend proper perſons into the Engliſh provinces, to make a more perfect diſcovery of their ſtrength and weakneſs: Thoſe are to deceive the Engliſh which (French policy has frequently done!) by amuſing them, with being deſerters.

Our grand monarch's will and pleaſure is, that we immediately build ſtrong forts between Crown Point and Ohio, ſufficient to ſecure fifty thouſand men, and ſo ſituated, that upon any extraordinary occaſion, they may immediately unite and oppoſe the Engliſh, if they ſhould attempt to oppoſe us; but, at preſent, they appear unconcerned and ſecure. However, their numbers cannot terrify us, when they have no diſcipline or union. Had they as many as Mexico, before the conqueſt, could boaſt of, our regulars, headed by our hero, the preſent governor, would deſtroy as many thouſands as Cortes did of the Mexicans.

I muſt, with ſecret pleaſure to ourſelves, tell you Sir, that we are pitying not envying, the Engliſh who are peopling Nova-Scotia: In thus fatigueing themſelves in clearing land, and expending conſiderable ſums in building, &c. as his moſt chriſtian majeſty's pleaſure is, to prepare a large ſquadron to deprive them of their labor and poſſeſſions: Then will they cry out, Who would have imagined this would have befallen us, when no more diſturbance has been at home? When this is effected, the Engliſh may undertake by remonſtrances, to complain of a violation and infringement of treaties.

I need not inform you, Sir, of our well concerted plan, which is, to keep New England, South Carolina and Georgia, fully engaged to defend their own territories, in order to prevent their aſſiſting the intervening provinces, which will fall an eaſy prey, as their ports will be blocked up by our ſhips, and thoſe of his catholic majeſty's, who have alſo a ſufficient number to devert the Engliſh ſquadrons, and keep them at home; at which time, with our numerous Indian al-

lies we shall enter the English provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, &c. Our Indian allies eastward, are to attack the eastward settlements; and his catholic majesty to transport a number of regulars from the Havanna, who are to attack Georgia and South Carolina, which will be added to his other dominions of New Spain; und his most christian majesty to possess all the land from South Carolina to Newfoundland.

I need not caution you, Sir, to conceal the contents of this letter, which you must be sensible should remain an entire secret, lest the English should discover the measures we have concerted: and while they are amusing themselves with idle disputes and debates, and one province contending, and promoting jealousies, and raising groundless suspicions of each other, without making any preparations for defence, let us unite as one body, as loyal subjects and good catholics, then shall we accomplish our glorious undertaking, and sing Te Deum, and celebrate mass in those places which have been long defiled by the breath of heretics.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

DE ROCHE.

NOTE (B) page 28.

MOUNT VERNON, the seat of the late GENERAL WASHINGTON, is pleasantly situated on the Virginia bank of Potomac river, in Fairfax county, Virginia, where the river is nearly two miles wide; 9 miles below Alexandria; 4 above the beautiful seat of the late Col. Fairfax, called Bellevoir; 127 from Point Look Out, at the mouth of the river, and 280 miles from the sea. The area of the mount is 200 feet above the surface of the river; and, after furnishing a lawn of five acres in front, about the same in rear of the buildings falls off rather abruptly on those two quarters. On the north end it subsides gradually into extensive pasture grounds; while on the south it slopes

more ſteeply, in a ſhort diſtance, and terminates with the coach houſe, ſtables, vineyard, and nurſeries. On either wing is a thick grove of different flowering foreſt trees. Parallel with them, on the land ſide, are two ſpacious gardens, into which, one is led by two ſerpentine gravel walks, planted with weeping willows and ſhady ſhrubs. The manſion houſe itſelf (though much embelliſhed by, yet not perfectly ſatisfactory to, the chaſte taſte of its late poſſeſſor) appears venerable and convenient. The ſuperb banqueting room was finiſhed after he returned home from the army, in 1783. A lofty portico, 96 feet in length, ſupported by 8 pillars, has a pleaſing effect when viewed from the water; the whole aſſemblage of the green houſe, ſchool houſe, offices, and ſervants' halls, when ſeen from the land ſide, bears a reſemblance to a rural village; eſpecially as the lands on that ſide are laid out ſomewhat in the form of Engliſh gardens, in meadows and graſs grounds, ornamented with little copſes, circular clumps, & ſingle trees. A ſmall park on the margin of the river, where the Engliſh fallow deer and the American wild deer are ſeen through the thicket, alternately with the veſſels as they are ſailing along, add a romantic and picturesque appearance to the whole ſcenery. On the oppoſite ſide of a ſmall creek to the northward, an extenſive plain, exhibiting corn-fields, and cattle grazing, affords in ſummer a luxuriant landſcape, while the blended verdure of wood-lands and cultivated declivities, on the Maryland ſhore, variegates the proſpect in a charming manner. Such are the philoſophic ſhades to which the Commander in Chief of the American army retired in 1783, at the cloſe of a victorious war; which he again left in 1789, to dignify, with his unequalled talents, the higheſt office in the gift of his fellow-citizens; and to which he again retreated in 1797, loaded with honors, and the benedictions of his country; where, in 1798, having again heard and obeyed the call of his endangered country to command her armies, he was ſummoned, on the 14th of Dec. 1799, to join the Heavenly Hoſts.

NOTE (C) page 32.

Mr. PRESIDENT.

"THOUGH I am truly ſenſible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great diſtreſs from a conſciouſneſs, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extenſive and important truſt: However, as the Congreſs deſire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I poſſeſs in their ſervice, and for the ſupport of the glorious cauſe. I beg they will accept my moſt cordial thanks for this diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of their approbation.

"BUT leſt ſome unlucky event ſhould happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmoſt ſincerity, I do not think myſelf equal to the command I am honored with.

"As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to aſſure the Congreſs, that as no pecuniary conſideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expenſe of my domeſtic eaſe and happineſs, I do not wiſh to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenſes. Thoſe I doubt not they will diſcharge, and that is all I deſire."

NOTE (D) page 34.

AMONG the many hazards to which General WASHINGTON was expoſed, while at the head of the American armies, the following deſerves to be particularly mentioned. In the month of June, 1776, while the army lay at New-York, a plot was meditated under the direction of Gov. Tryon, managed by the then Mayor of the city, to aid the king's troops on their arrival at New-York. The plot was ſo far matured as to have been communicated to ſome of the American army, and Thomas Hickey, one of the General's life guard, was engaged in it, and had enliſted others. General WASHINGTON was to have

been taken off, either by poiſon or aſſaſſination. By a Providential and timely diſcovery, the deteſtable de-deſign was fruſtrated. Hickey was tried by a court martial, on the morning of the 28th of June, found guilty, and executed, amidſt the execrations of the army, at eleven o'clock the ſame day.

NOTE (E) page 39.

Extract from his Speech to the firſt Congreſs under our preſent form of Government, delivered May 1789.

"FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE, AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

AMONG the viciſſitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was tranſmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the preſent month. On the one hand, I was ſummoned by my country, whoſe voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had choſen with the fondeſt predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable deciſion as the aſylum of my declining years: A retreat which was rendered every day more neceſſary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waſte committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the truſt to which the voice of my country called me, being ſufficient to awaken in the wiſeſt and moſt experienced of her citizens, a diſtruſtful ſcrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with deſpondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractiſed in the duties of civil adminiſtration, ought to be peculiarly conſcious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it has been my faithful ſtudy to collect my duty from a juſt appreciation of every circumſtance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is, that if in executing this taſk I have been too much ſwayed by a grateful

remembrance of former inſtances, or by an affectionate ſenſibility to this tranſcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; and have thence too little conſulted my incapacity as well as diſinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me; my error will be palliated by the motives which miſled me, and its conſequences be judged by my country, with ſome ſhare of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impreſſions under which I have, in obedience to the public ſummons, repaired to the preſent ſtation, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this firſt official act, my fervent ſupplications to that Almighty Being, who rules over the Univerſe, who preſides in the councils of nations, and whoſe providential aids can ſupply every human defect, that his benediction may conſecrate to the liberties and happineſs of the people of the United States, a government inſtituted by themſelves for theſe eſſential purpoſes, and may enable every inſtrument employed in its adminiſtration, to execute with ſucceſs, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I aſſure myſelf that it expreſſes your ſentiments not leſs than my own; nor thoſe of my fellow-citizens at large, leſs than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the inviſible hand, which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every ſtep, by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed by ſome token of providential agency. And in the important revolution juſt accompliſhed in the ſyſtem of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary conſent of ſo many diſtinct communities, from which the event has reſulted, cannot be compared with the means by which moſt governments have been eſtabliſhed, without ſome return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future bleſſings which the paſt ſeem to preſage. Theſe reflections, ariſing out of the preſent criſis,

have forced themſelves too ſtrongly on my mind to be ſuppreſſed. You will join with me, I truſt, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auſpiciouſly commence."

NOTE (F) page 43.

WASHINGTON's Letter of Acceptance as Commander in Chief of the American Armies.

MOUNT VERNON, 13th July, 1798.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honor on the evening of the 11th inſtant, to receive from the hand of the Secretary of War, your favor of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and conſent of the Senate, appointed me "Lieutenant-Gen. and Commander in Chief of all the Armies raiſed, or to be raiſed for the ſervice of the United States."

I cannot expreſs how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleaſed to make the communication; at the ſame time I muſt not conceal from you my earneſt wiſh, that the choice had fallen upon a man leſs declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the uſual viciſſitudes of war.

You know, Sir, what calculation I have made relative to the probable courſe of events, on my retiring from office, and the determination I had conſoled myſelf with, of cloſing the remnant of my days in my preſent peaceful abode; you will therefore be at no loſs to conceive and appreciate the ſenſations I muſt have experienced, to bring my mind to any concluſion that would pledge me, at ſo late a period of life, to leave ſcenes I ſincerely love, to enter upon the boundleſs field of public action, inceſſant trouble, and high reſponſibility.

It was not poſſible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent tranſactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country—their

insidious hostility to its government—their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it—the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents, to countenance and invigorate opposition—their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations—their war upon our defenceless commerce—their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands, amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me, corresponding sentiments with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavored to avert war, and exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause; and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore, and so often, signally favored the people of these United States.

Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person, of every description, to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially, in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred, is so seriously threatened; I have finally determined to accept the commission of Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances.

In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention that

I muſt decline having my acceptance conſidered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment, before entering into a ſituation to incur expenſe.

The Secretary of War being anxious to return to the Seat of Government, I have detained him no longer than was neceſſary to a full communication upon the ſeveral points he had in charge.

With very great reſpect, I have the honor to be, &c.

Go. WASHINGTON.

JOHN ADAMS,
Preſident of the United States.

EXTRACTS FROM
General Waſhington's Will.

I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, of Mount-Vernon, a Citizen of the United States, and lately Preſident of the ſame, Do make, ordain, and declare this inſtrument, which is written with my own hand,* and every page thereof ſubſcribed with my name, to be my laſt Will and Teſtament, revoking all others.

Imprimis. All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and ſpeedily paid; and the Legacies herein after bequeathed, are to be diſcharged as ſoon as circumſtances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Item. To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha Waſhington*, I give and bequeath the uſe, profit, and benefit of my whole Eſtate, real and perſonal, for the term of her natural life, except ſuch parts thereof as are

* *In the original manuſcript*, GEORGE WASHINGTON *was written at the bottom of every page.*

ſpecially diſpoſed of hereafter.—My improved Lot in the town of Alexandria, ſituated on Pitt and Cameron ſtreets, I give to her and her heirs for ever; as I alſo do my Houſhold and Kitchen Furniture of every ſort and kind, with the Liquors and Groceries which may be on hand at the time of my deceaſe, to be uſed and diſpoſed of as ſhe may think proper.

Item. Upon the deceaſe of my wife, it is my will and deſire, that all the Slaves which I hold in my *own right* ſhall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earneſtly wiſhed by me, be attended with ſuch inſuperable difficulties on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower Negroes, as to excite the moſt painful ſenſations, if not diſagreeable conſequences from the latter while both deſcriptions are in the occupancy of the ſame proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower Negroes are held, to manumit them. *And whereas*, among thoſe who will receive freedom according to this deviſe, there may be ſome who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, that will be unable to ſupport themſelves, it is my will and deſire that all who come under the firſt and ſecond deſcription, ſhall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that ſuch of the latter deſcription as have no parents living, or if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, ſhall be bound by the court until they ſhall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in caſes where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be aſcertained, the judgment of the court upon its own view of the ſubject, ſhall be adequate and final. The Negroes thus bound, are (by their maſters or miſtreſſes) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to ſome uſeful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the ſupport of orphan and other poor children—And I do hereby expreſſly forbid the ſale or tranſportation out of the ſaid

commonwealth of any Slave I may die poſſeſſed of under any pretence whatſoever. And I do moreover, moſt pointedly and moſt ſolemnly enjoin it upon my Executors hereafter named or the ſurvivor of them, to ſee that *this* clauſe reſpecting Slaves and every part thereof, be religiouſly fulfilled at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evaſion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harveſted, particularly as it reſpects the aged and infirm; ſeeing that a regular and permanent fund be eſtabliſhed for their ſupport as long as there are ſubjects requiring it; not truſting to the uncertain proviſion to be made by individuals:—And to my mulatto man *William*, (calling himſelf William Lee) I give immediate freedom, or if he ſhould prefer it (on account of the accidents which have befallen him and which have rendered him incapable of walking or of any active employment) to remain in the ſituation he now is, it ſhall be optional in him to do ſo; in either caſe however, I allow him an annuity of Thirty Dollars during his natural life, which ſhall be independent of the victuals and cloaths he has been accuſtomed to receive if he chuſes the laſt alternative; but in full with his freedom, if he prefers the firſt: And this I give him as a teſtimony of my ſenſe of his attachment to me, and for his faithful ſervices during the Revolutionary War.

Item. WHEREAS by a law of the Commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the Legiſlature thereof was pleaſed (as an evidence of its approbation of the ſervices I had rendered the public, during the Revolution, and partly, I believe, in conſideration of my having ſuggeſted the vaſt advantages which the community would derive from the extenſion of its inland navigation under Legiſlative patronage) to preſent me with one hundred ſhares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of extending the navigation of James River, from tide water to the mountains;—and alſo

with fifty ſhares of one hundred pounds ſterling each, in the corporation of another company likewiſe eſtabliſhed for the ſimilar purpoſe of opening the navigation of the river Potomac, from tide water to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, although the offer was highly honorable and grateful to my feelings, was refuſed as inconſiſtent with a principle which I had adopted, and had never departed from—Namely—not to receive pecuniary compenſation for any ſervices I could render my country in its arduous ſtruggle with Great Britain for its rights: and becauſe I had evaded ſimilar propoſitions from other States in the Union. Adding to this refuſal, however, an intimation that, if it ſhould be the pleaſure of the Legiſlature to permit me to appropriate the ſaid ſhares to Puplic uſes, I would receive them on thoſe terms with due ſenſibility; and this it having conſented to, in flattering terms, as will appear by a ſubſequent law and ſundry reſolutions, in the moſt ample and honorable manner. I proceed after this recital, for the more correct underſtanding of the caſe, to declare—That as it has always been a ſource of ſerious regret with me to ſee the Youth of theſe United States ſent to Foreign Countries for the purpoſe of Education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happineſs of their own; contracting too frequently, not only habits of diſſipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to Republican Government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind; which, thereafter are rarely overcome.—For theſe reaſons it has been my ardent wiſh to ſee a plan deviſed on a liberal ſcale which would have a tendency to ſpread ſyſtematic ideas through all parts of this riſing empire, thereby to do away local attachments and ſtate prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our National Councils.—Looking anxiouſly forward to the accompliſhment of ſo deſirable an object as this is, (in my eſtimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate

any plan more likely to effect the meaſure than the eſtabliſhment of a UNIVERSITY in a central part of the United States, to which the Youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be ſent for the completion of their Education in all the branches of polite literature; in arts and ſciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and (as a matter of infinite importanee in my judgment) by aſſociating with each other and forming friendſhips in Juvenile years, be enabled to free themſelves in a proper degree from thoſe local prejudices and habitual jealouſies which have juſt been mentioned; and which, when carried to exceſs, are never failing ſources of diſquietude to the public mind, and pregnant of miſchevious conſequences to this country; under theſe impreſſions, ſo fully dilated.

Item. I give and bequeath in perpetuity the Fifty Shares which I hold in the Patowmac Company (under the aforeſaid acts of the Legiſlature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a UNIVERSITY to be eſtabliſhed within the limits of the Diſtrict of Columbia, under the auſpices of the general government, if that government ſhould incline to extend a foſtering hand towards it; and until ſuch ſeminary is eſtabliſhed, and the funds ariſing on theſe ſhares ſhall be required for its ſupport, my further WILL and DESIRE is, that the profit accruing therefrom ſhall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchaſing Stock in the Bank of Columbia, or ſome other Bank, at the diſcretion of my Executors, or by the Treaſurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of Congreſs—provided that honorable body ſhould patronize the meaſure, and the dividends proceeding from the purchaſe of ſuch Stock is to be veſted in more Stock, and ſo on, until a ſum, adequate to the accompliſhment of the object, is obtained; of which I have not the ſmalleſt doubt, before many years paſs away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by Legiſlative authority, or from any other ſource.

Item. The hundred Shares which I hold in the James River Company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the uſe and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in the County of Rockbridge, in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Item. To the *Earl of Buchan* I recommit "the Box made of the Oak that ſheltered the great Sir *William Wallace* after the Battle of Falkirk"—preſented to me by his Lordſhip, in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a requeſt "to paſs it, on the event of my deceaſe, to the man in my country, who ſhould appear to merit it beſt, upon the ſame conditions that have induced him to ſend it to me." Whether eaſy or not, to ſelect *the Man* who might comport, with his Lordſhip's opinion in this reſpect, is not for me to ſay; but conceiving that no diſpoſition of this valuable curioſity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeable to the original deſign of the Goldſmiths' Company of Edinburgh, who preſented it to him, and, at his requeſt, conſented that it ſhould be tranſferred to me—I do give and bequeath the ſame to his Lordſhip; and, in caſe of his deceaſe, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the diſtinguiſhed honor of preſenting it to me, and more eſpecially for the favorable ſentiments with which he accompanied it.

Item. To my Brother, *Charles Waſhington*, I give and bequeath the Gold headed Cane left me by Dr. *Franklin*, in his Will* *(See laſt page in this book.)*

Item. To my Nephews, *William Auguſtine Waſhington*, *George Lewis*, *George Steptoe Waſhington*, *Buſhrod Waſhington*, and *Samuel Waſhington*, I give one of the Swords or Cutteaux, of which I may die poſſeſſed; And they are to chooſe in the order they are named.—Theſe Swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unſheath them for the purpoſe of ſhedding blood, except it be for ſelf-defence or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter caſe, to keep them unſheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the Relinquiſhment thereof.

The Family Vault at *Mount Vernon*, requiring repairs, and being improperly ſituated beſides, I deſire that a new one of brick, and upon a larger ſcale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Incloſure, on the ground which is marked out—In which my Remains, with thoſe of my deceaſed relations (now in the old Vault) and ſuch others of my Family as may chuſe to be entombed there, may be depoſited. And it is my expreſs deſire, that my Corps may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral Oration.

LASTLY, I conſtitute and appoint my dearly beloved Wife *Martha Waſhington*, my Nephews *William Auguſtine Waſhington*, *Buſhrod Waſhington*, *George Steptoe Waſhington*, *Samuel Waſhington*, and *Lawrence Lewis*, and my Ward *George Waſhington Parke Cuſtis*, (when he ſhall have arrived at the age of Twenty Years) Executrix and Executors of this WILL and TESTAMENT—In the conſtruction of which, it will readily be perceived that no profeſſional character has been conſulted, or has had any agency in the draught, and that although it has occupied many of my leiſure hours to digeſt, and to throw it into its preſent form, it may, notwithſtanding, appear crude and incorrect—but having endeavored to be plain and explicit in all the deviſes, even at the expence of prolixity, perhaps of tautology, I hope and truſt that no diſputes will ariſe concerning them; but if, contrary to expectation, the caſe ſhould be otherwiſe from the want of legal expreſſion, or the uſual technical terms, or becauſe too much or too little has been ſaid on any of the deviſes to be conſonant with law, *my will* and *direction* expreſsly is, that all diſputes (if unhappily any ſhould ariſe) ſhall be decided by three impartial, and intelligent men, known for their probity and good underſtanding—two to be choſen by the diſputants, each having the choice of one, and the third by thoſe two—which three men thus choſen ſhall, unfettered by law or legal conſtructions, declare the ſenſe of the Teſtator's intentions; And ſuch deciſion is, to all intents and purpoſes, to be as binding on the parties as if it had been given in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Subscribers' Names.

RHODEISLAND.

Atwood Sheffield
Almy Christopher
Anthony Wm. jr.
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Albro John
Atwell Amos M.
Allen William
Brown Arthur
Billings Abby
Billings Phebe
Barker Daniel W.
Baker Andrew
Bliss Jeremiah
Burrill William
Brown Peleg
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Babcock Rowland
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Banister John, jr.
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Cutter Thomas
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Cory Abraham
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Davenport Charles
Dunten George
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Dester Noah
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Gaillard Peter
Gorton Uriah
Gardiner John
Gardiner Warren
Gardiner Amos
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Hudson Sam. G.
Hart Rescom
Hazard John, jr.
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Hazard Nathan G.
Helme James, jr.
Hamlin William
Hazard Easton
Hiller Timothy
Haley Samuel
Heaton David 100
Irish Jeseph
Irish John
Ingraham Watson
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Lawton Samuel
Lawton Joseph
Luther Joseph H.

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Mumford Paul M.
Mumford Wm. P.
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Mumford John
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Shaw William
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Tayer Paul
Tillinghast Tho's
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Tourtellot Asahel
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Wing Elisha
Wilder William R.
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Cothone Thom. H.
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Cowper John
Chawning Henry
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Duirn John
Dana Phinehas 3
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Farmar Robert
Fitzgerald M.
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Hiort Henry
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Proby Paul
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Perry Luthan
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Richardſon Char.
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Reid George
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Simons James D.
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Cooper Gilbert
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Colter James
Denifton & Abber
[Cromie
Dodge Levi
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Kerr Robert Rev.
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Myers Abraham
Prior David
Pugh Ezra
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Walker Samuel
Williams Solomon
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Cary Richard
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Coffin Iſaac
Coleman David
Folger William
Gardiner Jared
Gardiner Lathun
Gelſton Roland
Joy Thaddeus
Norris Charles
Walcut Benjamin

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Cotten Joſiah
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Douglaſs Lucius
Dayton H. R.
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Wilſon George M.
Williamſon W. R.

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M'Laughlin C.
Smith Clement
Wilkinſon Ben.
Wharm Adam
Vinſon Charles
Young Henry H.

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Cobb Benjamin
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Siders Martin

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Morgan Joſeph
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Rice William
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Mills Alexander
Newman Maltbie
Perry Sturges
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Hall George P.
Oury James
Power Levi
Perkins George
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Rev. William Rogers, Philadelphia.
Meſſ. Bailey Waller & Bailey, Charleſton (S. C.) 50.

☞ THE Editors can offer no other apology to thoſe Gentlemen who have ſubſcribed, and whoſe names are not contained in the foregoing liſt, than to inform them, that only about *thirty* ſubſcription papers had been returned, on the commitment of this ſheet to the preſs, out of the number of *one hundred and fifty*, which had been circulated in various parts of the Union.

(See page 245, of this book.)

* *My fine crab-tree walking ſtick, with a gold head curiouſly wrought in the form of the cap of Liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind,* General WASHINGTON. *If it were a ſceptre, he has merited it, and would become it.* (Dr. Franklin's Will.)

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